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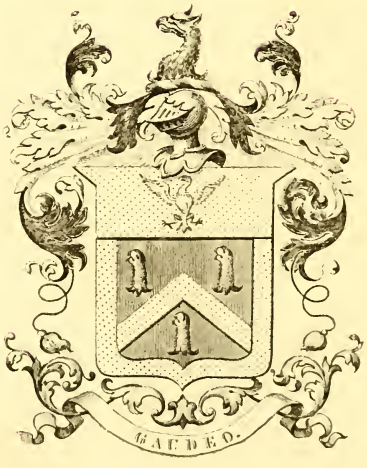

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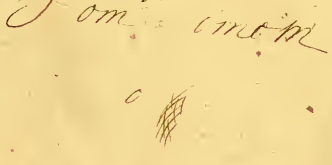

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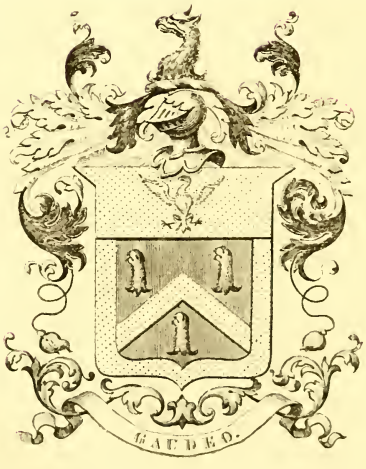

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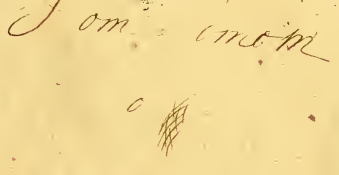

SEPTEN.
ASIÆ PARS
Anian Reg.
AMERICA SEPTEN
TRIONALIS
NOVA FR.
Groenland
Friſland
Scotia
Hibernia
Anglia
Hiſpania
MAR DEL NORT
Africæ pars
L de C. Verde
Antillas In.
I de Fontequa
Trinidad
Cuba
Iamaica
Sinus Mexicanus
NOVA HISPANIA
Florida
Nova Granada
Nova Chiala
Tolm Reg.
Quivira
Anian Reg.
Cedras Arenas
Croaloan
Chesepiook
Ascors insula
Terra nova
C. Bajador
AEQVI NOCTIALIS LINEA
MARE PACIFICUM
Salomonis Insu.
Isabella
Malarro
S. Christoual
S. Iago
Tuberones
I. de S. Petre
Caribana
MERIDIONALIS
Omag
Paria
Chiriqui
Peru
Brasilia
Canibalis
Amazones
Parahiba
Olinda
S. Augustin
S. Michael
S. Sepoame
Rio de la Plata
Terra Magellanica
Fretum Magellanicum
TERRA AUSTRALIS
AMERICAE DESCRIP.
Miliaria Germanica
60 150 300 450
180 190 200 210 220 230 240 250 260 270 280 290 300 310 320 330 340 350 360
S.

A NEW SURVEY OF THE WEST-INDIA'S:

OR,

The Engliſh American his Travail by Sea and Land:

CONTAINING

A Journal of Three thouſand and Three hundred Miles within the main Land of AMERICA.

Wherein is ſet forth his Voyage from *Spain* to S^t. *John de Ulhua*; and from thence to *Xalappa*, to *Tlaxcalla*, the City of *Angels*, and forward to *Mexico*; With the deſcription of that great City, as it was in former times, and alſo at this preſent.

Likewiſe, his Journey from *Mexico*, through the Provinces of *Guaxaca*, *Chiapa*, *Guatemala*, *Vera Paz*, *Truxillo*, *Comayagua*; with his abode Twelve years about *Guatemala*, and eſpecially in the Indian-Towns of *Mixco*, *Pinola*, *Petapa*, *Amatitlan*.

As alſo his ſtrange and wonderfull Converſion and Calling from thoſe remote Parts, to his Native COUNTREY.

With his return through the Province of *Nicaragua*, and *Coſta Rica*, to *Nicoya*, *Panama*, *Portobelo*, *Cartagena*, and *Havana*, with divers Occurrents and Dangers that did befal in the ſaid Journey.

ALSO,

A New and Exact Diſcovery of the *Spaniſh* NAVIGATION to thoſe Parts: And of their Dominions, Government, Religion, Forts, Caſtles, Ports, Havens, Commodities, Faſhions, Behaviour of Spaniards, Prieſts and Friers, Blackmores, Mulatto's, Meſtiſo's, Indians; and of their Feaſts and Solemnities.

With a Grammar, or ſome few Rudiments of the *Indian* Tongue, called *POCONCHI*, or *POCOMAN*.

The SECOND EDITION enlarged by the Author, and beautified with MAPS.

By the true and painful endevours of THOMAS GAGE, *Preacher of the Word of God at* Deal *in the County of* KENT.

LONDON, Printed by *E. Cotes*, and ſold by *JOHN SWEETING*, at the *Angel* in *Popes-head-alley*, M. DC. LV.

R. Edgcumbe.

RPJCB

To His Excellency

Sir *THOMAS FAIRFAX* Knight,

Lord *FAIRFAX*

OF

CAMERON,

Captain-Generall of the Parliaments Army; and of all their Forces in *ENGLAND*, and the Dominion of *WALES*.

May it please your EXCELLENCY,

THe Divine Providence hath hitherto so ordered my life, that for the greatest part thereof, I have lived (as it were) in exile from my native Country: which happened, partly, by reason of my education in the Romish Religion, and that in forain Universities; and partly, by my entrance into Monasticall orders. For twelve years space of which time, I was wholly disposed of in that part of America *called* New-Spain, *and the parts adjacent. My difficult going thither, being not permitted to any, but to those of the Spanish Nation; my long stay there; and lastly my returning home, not only to my Country, but to the true knowledge and free profession of the Gospels purity, gave me reason to conceive, That these great mercies were not appointed me by the Heavenly Powers, to the end I should bury my Talent in the earth, or hide my light under a bushell, but that I should impart what I there saw and knew to the use*

and benefit of my Engliſh Countrey-men; And which the rather I held my ſelf obliged unto, becauſe in a manner nothing hath been written of theſe Parts for theſe hundred years laſt paſt, which is almoſt ever ſince the firſt Conqueſt thereof by the Spaniards, *who are contented to loſe the honour of that wealth and felicity they have there ſince purchaſed by their great endevours, ſo they may enjoy the ſafety of retaining what they have formerly gotten in peace and ſecurity. In doing whereof, I ſhall offer no Collections, but ſuch as ſhall ariſe from mine own obſervations, which will as much differ from what formerly hath been hereupon written, as the picture of a perſon grown to mans eſtate, from that which was taken of him when he was but a Childe, or the laſt hand of the Painter, to the firſt or rough draught of the picture. I am told by others, that this may prove a moſt acceptable work: but I do tell my ſelf, that it will prove both lame and imperfect, and therefore had need to ſhelter my ſelf under the ſhadow of ſome high protection, which I humbly pray your Excellency to afford me; nothing doubting, but as God hath lately made your Excellency the happy inſtrument, not only of ſaving my ſelf, but of many numbers of godly and well affected people in this County of* Kent, *(where now I reſide by the favour of the Parliament) from the imminent ruine and deſtruction plotted againſt them by their moſt implacable enemies; ſo the ſame God who hath led your Excellency through ſo many difficulties towards the ſettlement of the peace of this Kingdom, and reduction of* Ireland, *will, after the perfecting thereof (which God of his mercy haſten) direct your Noble thoughts to employ the Souldiery of this Kingdom upon ſuch juſt and honourable deſignes in thoſe parts of* America, *as their want of action at home may neither be a burden to themſelves nor the Kingdome. To your Excellency therefore I offer a* New-World, *to be the ſubject of your future pains, valour, and piety, beſeeching your acceptance of this plain but faithfull relation of mine, wherein your Excellency, and by you the Engliſh Nation ſhall ſee what wealth and honor they have loſt by one of their narrow hearted Princes, who living in peace and abounding in riches, did notwithſtanding reject the offer of being firſt diſcoverer of* America, *and left it unto* Ferdinando *of* Arragon, *who at the ſame time was wholly taken up by the Warres, in gaining of the City and Kingdome of* Granada *from the* Moores; *being ſo impoveriſhed thereby, that he was compelled to borrow with ſome difficulty a few Crowns of a*

very

very mean man, to set forth Columbus *upon so glorious an expedition. And yet, if time were closely followed at the heels, we are not so far behind, but we might yet take him by the fore-top. To which purpose our Plantations of the* Barbadoes, St. Christophers, Mems, *and the rest of the* Caribe-Islands, *have not only advanced our journey the better part of the way; but so inured our people to the Clime of the* Indies, *as they are the more inabled thereby to undertake any enterprise upon the firm Land with greater facility. Neither is the difficulty of the attempt so great, as some may imagine; for I dare be bold to affirm it knowingly, That with the same pains and charge which they have been at in planting one of those petty Islands, they might have conquer'd so many great Cities, and large Territories on the main Continent, as might very well merit the title of a Kingdome. Our Neighbours the* Hollanders *may be our example in this case; who whilst we have been driving a private Trade from Port to Port, of which we are now likely to be deprived, have conquered so much Land in the* East *and* West-Indies, *that it may be said of them, as of the* Spaniards, That the Sun never sets upon their Dominions. *And to meet with that objection by the way,* That the Spaniard being intituled to those Countries, it were both unlawfull and against all conscience to dispossess him thereof. *I answer, that (the Popes donation excepted) I know no title he hath but force, which by the same title, and by a greater force may be repelled. And to bring in the title of* First-discovery, *to me it seems as little reason, that the sailing of a* Spanish *Ship upon the coast of* India, *should intitle the King of* Spain *to that Countrey, as the sayling of an* Indian *or* English *Ship upon the coast of* Spain, *should intitle either the* Indians *or* English *unto the Dominion thereof. No question but the just right or title to those Countries appertains to the Natives themselves; who if they shall willingly and freely invite the* English *to their protection, what title soever they have in them, no doubt but they may legally transfer it or communicate it to others. And to say that the inhumane butchery which the* Indians *did formerly commit in sacrificing of so many reasonable Creatures to their wicked Idols, was a sufficient warrant for the* Spaniards *to divest them of their Countrey; The same argument may by much better reason be enforced against the* Spaniards *themselves, who have sacrificed so many millions of* Indians *to the Idol of their barbarous cruelty, that many populous Islands*

and

and large Territorities upon the main Continent, are thereby at this day utterly uninhabited, as Bartholomeo de las Casas, *the* Spanish *Bishop of* Guaxaca *in* New-Spain, *hath by his Writings in Print sufficiently testified. But to end all disputes of this nature; since that God hath given the earth to the sons of Men to inhabite; and that there are many vast Countries in those parts, not yet inhabited either by* Spaniard *or* Indian, *why should my Country-men the* English *be debarred from making use of that, which God from all beginning, no question, did ordain for the benefit of mankinde?*

But I will not molest your Excellency with any further argument hereupon; rather offering my self, and all my weak endevours (such as they are) to be employed herein for the good of my Countrey; I beseech Almighty God to prosper your Excellency, Who am

The most devoted and humblest of

your Excellencies servants,

Tho. Gage.

Upon

Upon this *Worthy Work* of his moſt worthy Friend the *AUTHOUR*.

READER, behold preſented to thine eye,
What us *Columbus* off'red long ago,
Of the *New-World* a new diſcoverie,
Which here our Authour doth ſo clearly ſhow;
That he the ſtate which of theſe Parts would know,
Need not hereafter ſearch the plenteous ſtore
Of *Hackluit*, *Purchas* and *Ramuſio*,
Or learn'd *Acoſta*'s writings to look o're;
Or what *Herera* hath us told before,
Which merit not the credit due from hence,
Thoſe being but reck'nings of another ſcore,
But theſe the fruits of ſelf-experience:
Wherein our Authour uſeth not the ſence
Of thoſe at home, who do their judgments leave,
And after wandring far with vaſt expence,
See many things, which they do ne'r perceive;
Laborious are by ſtudy much at home
To know thoſe Parts, which they came lately from.
Leſſe doth he uſe us as the late writ Books
Of journeys made unto the *Levant*-States;
Wherein when we do pry with curious looks,
Of *Greece* and *Troy* to know the preſent fates;
They tell us what *Thucidides* relates,
What *Strabo* writes, what *Homer* crown'd with bayes,
What Authours more, who have out-worn their dates,
Beſides what *Plutarch* and *Polybius* ſayes:
So what they were, not what they are, they ſing,
And ſhew their reading, not their travailing.
But here our Authour neither doth us tell,
Or to us ſhew one inch of Sea or Ground,

Unleſs

Unleſſe ſuch acts which in his time befell,
Or what his eyes ſaw the Horizon bound:
He uttereth nought at all he heard by ſound,
He ſpeaks not of a City or a Street,
But where himſelf hath often gone the round,
And meaſured o're with his induſtrious feet.
And yet it muſt acknowledg'd be for true,
Since worthy *Hawkins*, and the famous *Drake*
Did firſt preſent unto the Engliſh view
This New-found-world, for great *Eliza's* ſake;
Renowned *Rawleigh* twice did undertake
VVith labours great, and dangers not a few,
A true diſcovery of theſe Parts to make,
And thereof writ both what he ſaw and knew.
But as the man who in a Ship doth paſs
Our narrow Seas, the flowings of each tide,
The Ships courſe, ſoundings, turnings of the glaſs,
VVhat Land he makes on North or Southern ſide,
He may impart: But who they be abide,
Or what Religion, Language, or what Nation
Poſſeſs each Coaſt; ſince he hath never tride,
How can he make thereof a true Relation?
So thoſe who have deſcrib'd theſe Parts before,
Of Trade, VVinds, Currents, Hurican's do tell,
Of Headlands, Harbours, trendings of the ſhore,
Of Rocks and Iſles: wherein they might as well
Talk of a Nut, and only ſhew the ſhell;
The kernell neither taſted, touch'd nor ſeen
Had yet remain'd; but that it ſo befell,
That theſe Relations to us made have been;
Differing as much from what before y'have heard,
As doth a Land-Map from a Seamans Card.
But how theſe truths reveal'd to us ſhould bee,
VVhen none but *Spaniards* to thoſe parts may go;
VVhich was eſtabliſh'd by ſevere Decree,
Leſt Forain people ſhould their ſecrets know;
This Order yet to be neglected ſo,
As that our Authour had permiſſion free,
VVhoſe Nation too they count their greateſt foe,
Seemeth almoſt a miracle to me.

Sure

Sure the preſcience of that power Divine,
Which ſafely to thoſe parts did him convey,
Did not for nought his conſtant heart incline
There twelve whole years ſo patiently to ſtay:
That he each thing exactly might ſurvey,
Then him return'd, nay more did turn to us,
And to him ſhew'd of bliſs the perfect way,
Which of the reſt ſeems moſt miraculous.
For had the laſt of theſe not truly been,
Theſe fair Relations we had never ſeen.
Nor can I think but this moſt uſefull Book
In time to come, may like ſome new-born Star,
Direct ſuch wiſemen as therein will look,
And ſhew their way unto theſe Regions far.
And though we now lie ſunk in Civill war,
Yet you the worthy Patriots of this Land,
Let not your hearts be drowned in deſpair,
And ſo your future happineſſe withſtand.
For time will come you ſhall enjoy a Peace,
But then no longer you muſt joy in ſin,
When they no more ſhall raign, theſe Wars ſhall ceaſe,
And then your after bliſs ſhall ſoon begin.
The fiery trials which you now are in,
In ſtead of foes ſhall prove your beſt of friends,
And you from ſervile baſe affection win,
To fit your hearts for high and Nobler ends:
Your Drums which us'd to beat their Martiall dance
Upon the banks of *Garone*, *Seine*, and *Soane*;
VVhilſt you trode meaſures through the Realm of *France*,
Do now at home (Oh grief!) on both ſides groan,
As if they did your ill ſpilt bloud bemoan;
VVhich long ago with *Richard*, *England*'s King,
VVhen he the holy VVar maintain'd alone,
Their dreadfull notes did through *Judea* ring.
Now ſhall the tawnie *Indians* quake for fear,
Their direfull march to beat when they do hear;
Your brave Red-Croſſes on both ſides diſplay'd,
The noble Badges of your famous Nation,
VVhich you yet redder with your blouds have made,
And dyed them deep in drops of deteſtation.

You

You ſhall again advance with reputation,
And on the bounds of utmoſt Weſtern ſhore
Shall them tranſplant, and firmly fix their ſtation,
Where Engliſh Colours ne'r did fly before.
Your well-built Ship, companions of the Sun,
As they were Chariots to his fiery beams,
Which oft the Earths circumference have run,
And now lie moar'd in *Severn*, *Trent*, and *Tems*,
Shall plough the Ocean with their gilded Stems,
And in their hollow bottoms you convay
To Lands inrich'd with gold, with pearls and gems,
But above all, where many thouſands ſtay
Of wronged *Indians*, whom you ſhall ſet free
From *Spaniſh* yoke, and *Romes* Idolatry.

All this and more by you ſhall ſure be done,
Yet I no Prophet, nor no Prophets ſonne.

Thomas Chaloner.

A NEW SURVEY OF THE WEST-INDIES.

Chap. I.

How Rome *doth yearly visit the* American *and* Asian *Kingdoms.*

THE policy, which for many years hath upheld the erring Church of *Rome*, hath clearly and manifestly been discovered by the many Errors which in severall times by sundry Synods or Generall Councels, (which commonly are but Apes of the Popes fancy, will, pleasure, and ambition) have been enacted into that Church. And for such purposes doth that man of Sinne, and Antichristian tyrant, keep constantly in *Rome* so many poor Pensionary Bishops as hounds at his table smelling out his ambitious thoughts, with whom he fils the Synods, when he cals them, charging them never to leave off barking and wearying out the rest of the Prelates, untill they have them all as a prey unto his proud and ambitious designes; from which if any of them dare to start, not only their Pensions shall be surely forfeited, but their souls shall be cursed, and they as Hereticks Anathematized with a Censure of Excommunication *latæ sententiæ*. Hence sprung that Master-piece of Policy, decreeing that the Pope alone should be above the Generall Councell, lest otherwise one Mans pride might be curbed by many heads joyned together; And secondly, that Synodicall definition, that the Pope cannot erre, that though the Councels power, wisdome and learning were all sifted into one mans brain, all points of faith strained into one head and channell; yet the people should not stagger in any lawfull doubts, nor the learned sort follow any more the light of reason, or the sunshine of the Gospel, but all yielding to blind Obedience, and their most holy Fathers infallibility, in the foggie and Cimmerian mist of ignorance, might secure their souls from erring, or deviating to the *Scylla* or *Carybdis* of Schism and Heresie. What judicious eye, that will not be blinded with the napkin of ignorance, doth not easily see that Policy only hath been the chief Actor of those damnable Opinions of Purgatory, Transubstantiation, Sacrifice though unbloudy (as they term it) of the Mass, Invocation of Saints, their Canonization or installing of Saints into the kingdom of heaven, Indulgences, auricular Confession, with satisfactory Penance, and many such like: Al which doubtless have been commanded as points of Faith, not so much to save those wretched souls, as to advance that crackt-brain head in the conceits of his European wonderers, who long agoe were espied out by the Spirit of *John* wondring after the Beast, worshipping him for his power, and saying, *Who is like unto the Beast, who is able to make war with him?* Rev. 13.3,4. Thus can policy invent a Purgatory, that a Pope may be sought from all parts of *Europe*, nay from *East* and *West-India's*, to deliver souls from that imaginary Fire which never God created, but he himself hath fancied, that so much glory may be ascribed to him, and his power wondered at, who can plunge into torments, condemn to burning, and when he list, deliver out of fire. Much more would he be admired, and his

goodneſſe extolled, if he would deliver at once all thoſe his Purgatory Priſoners without the Simoniacall receipt of money. But policy can afford an infinite price and value of a ſacrifice of the Maſſe, to delude the ignorant people, that though they leave their whole eſtates to enrich Cloyſters, and fat proud Prelates and Abbots; yet this is nothing, and comes far ſhort (being finite) to that infinite Sacrifice, which only can and muſt deliver their ſcorching, nay brayling ſouls: And if this infinite Sacrifice be not enough, (which will not be enough, whereas Chriſts infinite ſatisfaction was not enough in the opinion of that erroneous Church) Policy will give yet power to a Pope, *ſi divitiæ affluant*, if money and rich bribes abound, to grant inch plenary Indulgences, which may upon one Saints day, or at ſuch a Saints Altar, work that ſoul out, which lyeth lurking and frying in the deepeſt pit of Purgatory. O who is like unto the Beaſt? But will thoſe that wonder at him, be alſo wondered at as workers of wonders and miracles? Policy will give power to a Pope to canonize ſuch, and ſet them at Gods right hand, fit to be prayed unto, and called upon as Judges of our neceſſities, and Auditors of our wants: But this honour muſt be given, after that the whole Colledge of Cardinals have been clothed with new purple Robes, and Loads of money brought to the Court of *Rome*; Witneſſe thoſe many thouſand pounds, which the City of *Barcelona*, and the whole Country of *Catalonia* ſpent in the Canonizing of *Raimundus de Pennafort*, a Dominican Fryer: Witneſſe at leaſt ten Millions, which I have been credibly informed, that the Jeſuits ſpent for the canonization of their two Twins, *Ignatius Loiola*, and *Franciſcus Xavier*, whom they call the Eaſt *India* Apoſtle. And it is not ſeven years ago yet that it was my chance to travail from *Frankford* in *Germany* as far as *Millain* in company of one Fryer *John Baptiſt* a *Franciſcan*, who told me, That was the fourth time of his going to *Rome* from *Valentia* in the Kingdome of *Arragon* in *Spain* about the Canonization of one *John Capiſtrano* of the ſame Order; and that beſides the great Almes which he had begged over many countries, (and in that journey went purpoſely to *Inſpurg* to the Prince *Leopoldo* for his Almes and Letters of commendation to the Pope and Cardinals) he had ſpent of the City of *Valencia* only five thouſand Duckets, and yet was not his Saint enthroned, as he deſired, in heaven; but ſtill money was wanting, and more demanded for the dignifying with a Saints title him, who had lived a Mendicant and begging Fryer. Thus are thoſe blinded Nations brought by Policy to run to *Rome* with rich treaſures, and thus do they ſtrive who ſhall have moſt Saints of their Country or Nation, though impoveriſhing themſelves; whilſt at *Rome* Ambition and Policy ſay not, It is enough, fit mates for the Horſleech his two daughters, crying, *Give, give*, *Prov.* 30.15. Give, ſay they, and the rigid Penance juſtly to be impoſed upon thee for thy ſins moſt hainous, ſhall be extenuated and made eaſie for thee. Give, ſay they, and thou ſhalt be diſpenſed with to marry thy neareſt Kinſwoman or Kinſman. It would be a long ſtory to inſert here how the Popes Policy ſucks out of *England* our gold and ſilver for the authorizing of our Papiſts private Chambers and Altars for the gaining of Indulgences in them, and delivering of ſouls out of Purgatory, when Maſſes are ſaid and heard at them. Thus hath *Romes* policy blinded and deceived many of the *European* Kingdomes; and with the ſame greedineſſe gapes at *Aſia* and *America*. Who would not admire to ſee that at this day in *America* only, the Popes authority and uſurped power is extended to as many Countries as all *Europe* contains, wherein no Religion but meer blinde Obedience and ſubjection to that Man of Sin is known? And dayly may it more and more encreaſe, whereas the King of *Spain* gloryeth to have received from the Pope power over thoſe Kingdomes far greater then any other Princes of *Europe* have enjoyed from him. But the pity is, that what power theſe Princes have, they muſt acknowledge it from *Rome*, having given their own power and ſtrength unto the Beaſt, *Revel.* 17.13. ſuffering themſelves to be diveſted of any Eccleſiaſticall power over the Clergy, and unabled to tender any Oath of Supremacy and Allegiance to their own and naturall ſubjects, only ſo far as his Holineſſe ſhall give them power. Which, Policy ſince the firſt conqueſt of the Weſt *India's*, and ambition to advance the Popes name, hath granted to the Kings of *Spain*, by a ſpeciall title, naming thoſe Kingdomes, *El Patrimonio Real*, The Royall Patrimony; upon this Condition, that the King of *Spain* muſt maintain there the preaching of the Goſpell, Fryers, Prieſts and Jeſuites to preach it with all the erroneous Popiſh doctrines; which tend to the advancement of the Popes glory, power, and authority. So that what power he hath diveſted himſelf of, and inveſted the Pope with; what power other Princes are diveſted of, and

the

the King of *Spain* in his Kingdomes of *Europe*, from medling in Eccleſiaſticall affaires; or with Eccleſiaſticall men; Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, Prieſts, Jeſuites, Monkes and Fryers; that ſame power by way of Royall Patrimony is conferred upon him in the *India's* only. And this only politickly to maintain their Popery; elſe never would it have ſo much increaſed there; for poor Prieſts and Mendicant Fryers would never have had means enough to be at the charges of ſending yearly Flocks and Sholes of Fryers thither, neither to keep and maintain them there; neither would the covetouſneſſe of the Popes themſelves have afforded out of their full and rich treaſures, means ſufficient for the maintaining of ſo many thouſand Preachers as at this day are Preaching there, more *Rome* and Antichriſts name, then the name of Chriſt and the truth of the Goſpel. And policy having thus opened way to thoſe *American* parts; the charges being thus laid upon the Crown of *Spain*, and the honour of a Royall Patrimony, with power over the Clergy thus conferred upon the Kings of *Spain*; how doth the Pope yearly charge the Catholick King with troops of Jeſuites and Fryers to be conveyed thither? Now the Jeſuites (the beſt ſcholars of *Romes* policy) ſeeing this to be thus ſetled between the Pope and the King of *Spain*, for the increaſing of their Order, and to ſuppreſſe the increaſe of other Religions there, have thought firſt of a way of challenging all the *India's* to themſelves, alleaging that *Francis Xavierius* companion of *Ignatius Loiola* was the firſt Preacher that ever preached in the *Eaſt-India's*, and ſo by right that they being of his profeſſion ought only to be ſent thither. But this their way being ſtopped by the oppoſition of all other Religious Orders, eſpecially by the ſolicitation of one Fryer *Diego Colliado*, a Dominican, as hereafter I will ſhew more largely. Now, ſecondly, their policy is to lean more to the Popes of *Rome*, then any other of thoſe Orders, by a ſpeciall Vow which they make above the three Vowes of other Orders, Poverty, Chaſtity, and Obedience to their ſuperiors; to wit, to be alwayes ready to go to preach when or whither ſoever the Pope ſhall ſend them, and to advance his name, defend his power in what parts ſoever, maugre whatſoever danger, or oppoſition. Thus though the remoteneſſe of *America* may diſcourage other Orders from going thither to preach, and their freewill which is left unto them to make choice of ſo long and tedious a journey may retard their readineſſe, and the dangers of the *Barbarians* unwillingneſſe to ſubmit to a Popes power, and admit of a new Religion as ſuperſtitious as their own, may affright them from hazarding their lives among a barbarous, rude, and idolatrous people; yet if all others fail, the Pope, and the Jeſuites being thus agreed, and the King of *Spain* bound by the new Royall Patrimony; Preachers have not, nor ſhall ever be wanting in thoſe parts: And in ſtead of the old Jeſuites and Preachers grown in age, yearly are ſent thither Miſſions (as they call them) either of Voluntiers, Fryers mendicants, Prieſts or Monkes, or elſe of forced Jeſuites: All which entring once into the Liſt and Bond of Miſſionaries, muſt abide there, and be maintained by the King of *Spain* ten years. And whoſoever before the ten years expired, ſhall deſire to ſee *Spain* again, or runagate-like ſhall return, may be conſtrained (if taken in *Spain*) to return again to the *India's*, as it happened whilſt I lived in thoſe parts, to one Fryer *Peter de Balcazar* a Dominican, who privily flying back to *Spain*, was the year after ſhipped, and reſtored again to his forced ſervice under the Pope of *Rome*. And thus doth policy open the wayes to thoſe remote and forain parts of *America*. Thus hath policy wrought upon the Kings of *Spain*; and Jeſuiticall policy meeting with Antichriſts policy and Ambition, doth *Rome* yearly viſite her new nurſed Children, greeting that Infantile Church of *Aſia* and *America* with troopes of meſſengers one after another, like *Jobs* meſſengers, bringing under pretence of ſalvation, damnation and miſery to their poor and wretched ſouls.

Chap. II.

Shewing that the Indians *wealth under a pretence of their Converſion hath corrupted the hearts of poor begging Fryers, with ſtrife, hatred and ambition.*

IT is a moſt true and certain ſaying, *Odia Religionum ſunt acerbiſſima*, hatred grounded in points and differences of Religion (let me adde, if ambition blow the fire to that hatred) is the moſt bitter and uncapable of reconciliation. Nay, it is an obſer-

vation worth nothing of ſome (ſee Doctor *Day* upon 1 *Cor.* 16. 9.) that the nearer any are unto a conjunction in matters of Religion, and yet ſome difference retained, the deeper is the hatred; as he obſerves, a Jew hates a Chriſtian far worſe then he doth a Pagan, or a Turke; a Papiſt hates a Proteſtant worſe then he doth a Jew, and a Formaliſt hates a Puritan worſe then he doth a Papiſt. No ſuch hatred under heaven (ſaith he) as that between a Formaliſt, and a Puritan, whereof our now Domeſtick and Civill Wars may be a ſad and woefull experience. A truth which made *Paul* burſt out into a lamentable complaint, 1 *Cor.* 16. 9. ſaying, *A great door and effectuall is opened unto me, and there are many adverſaries.*

And as when the door of true Faith once is opened, then Adverſaries begin to ſwarme and rage; ſo in all points of falſe and faigned Religion, where the entrance to it is laid open, hatred and enmity will act their parts. But much more if with ſuch pretended Religion, Wealth and Ambition as counterfeit Mates thruſt hard to enter at the opened door, what ſtrife, hatred, and envy do they kindle even in the hearts of ſuch who have vowed poverty and the contempt of worldly wealth? I may adde to what hath been obſerved above, that no hatred is comparable to that which is between a Jeſuite and a Fryer, or any other of *Romes* religious Orders; And above all yet, between a Jeſuite, and a Dominican. The ambition and pride of Jeſuites is inconſiſtent in a Kingdome or Common-wealth with any ſuch as may be equall to them in Preaching, Counſell or Learning. Therefore ſtrive they ſo much for the education of Gentlemens Children in their Colledges, that by teaching the ſonnes, the love of the fathers and mothers may be more eaſily gained: and their love and good will thus gained, they may withall gaine to themſelves whatſoever praiſe, honour, glory may be fit to be beſtowed upon any other Eccleſiaſticall Perſon. Which Policy and Ambition in them being ſo patent and known to all the World, hath ſtirred up in all other Religions a hatred to them uncapable ever of Reconciliation. This hath made them all to conſpire againſt them, and to diſcover their unſatisfied covetouſneſſe in beguiling the rich Widowes of what means hath been left them by their deceaſed husbands, to erect and build thoſe ſtately Colledges beyond the Seas, the ſight whereof both outward and inward doth draw the ignorant people to reſort more to their Churches and preaching then to any other. Thus whiles in *Venice* they got the favour of one of the chief Senators of that Common-wealth, they politickly drew him to make his will according to their will and pleaſure, leaving to his ſon and heire no more then what they ſhould think fit to afford him. But they appropriating to themſelves the chiefeſt part of the young heires means, and with ſo proud a legacy thinking to overpower all other Orders, were by them oppoſed ſo, that the Will was called for by the whole State and Senators of *Venice*, fully examined, and they commanded to reſtore to the heir the whole eſtate as enjoyed by his Father. Well did that wiſe Senate conceive, that as one Noble man had been cheated by them of his fortunes, ſo might they one by one, and ſo at length the riches of *Venice* might become a treaſure only for Jeſuites to maintain the pride and pompe of their glorious fabricks. And though thoſe vowed ſervants to the Pope obtained his Excommunication againſt the whole Eſtate of *Venice* upon non-complying with the aforeſaid Will and Teſtament; yet ſuch was the preaching of all other Prieſts and Orders againſt them, that they cauſed the State to ſlight the Excommunication, and in lieu of making them heires of the deceaſed Senators Eſtate, they ſhamefully baniſhed them out of *Venice*. Thus alſo have the Prieſts and Fryers of *Biſcaya* in *Spain* prevailed againſt the admitting of Jeſuites into *Sar-Sebaſtian*, though by the favour of ſome they have in ſeverall occaſions obtained an houſe and erected a Bell to ring and ſummon in the people to their pretended Church and Colledge. Nay the very houſe wherein their Patron *Ignatius Loiola* lived, have they often ſeriouſly offered to buy for a Colledge; yet ſuch hath been the oppoſition of the Prieſts and Fryers of that Country, that they have daſhed to nought their often iterated endevours to purchaſe that which they eſteem their chiefeſt Relique. But to come nearer to our own Country, what a combuſtion did this ſtrife between Jeſuites and other Prieſts of *England* cauſe among our Papiſts ten years agoe, when the Pope ſending into *England* Doctor *Smith* pretended Biſhop of *Chalcedon* to be the Metropolitan head over all the Clergy and other Orders, how then was it to ſee the pride of the Jeſuites as inconſiſtent with any one that might overſway them, or gain more credit then themſelves? who never left perſecuting the Biſhop, till by the

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Popes Letters they had baniſhed him out of *England*. Which curteſie, the ſecular Prieſts gaining yet a head over them with title of Archdeacon, Doctor *Champny*, have ever ſince ſought to repay home, by endevouring always to caſt them out of *England*, as pernicious to the State of this Kingdome, more then Fryers or any other ſort of Prieſts; Which they have ſufficiently made known by diſcovering their covetouſneſſe in encroaching upon many Houſes and Farmes, enriching themſelves, as namely at *Winifreds* Will (ſo termed by them) where they had bought an Inne, and ſpeedily fell to building there that they might make it a Colledge for Jeſuits to entertain there all Papiſts comers and goers to that Well, and ſo might win to themſeves the hearts of moſt of the Papiſts of the Land, who do yearly reſort thither to be waſhed and healed upon any light occaſion either of Head-ach, Stomach-ach, Ague, want of children, where they blindly phanſie a ſpeedy remedy for all maladies, or wants of this World. Thus have the Prieſts diſcovered further our Engliſh Jeſuites covetouſneſſe in the building of the Sope-houſes at *Lambeth* under the name of Mr. *George Gage* their purſe-bearer, and ſince projecting the Monopoly of Sope under Sir *Richard Weſton*, Sir *Baſil Brooke*, and many others names, who were but Agents and Traders with the Jeſuites rich and mighty Stocke. Thus came out the diſcovery of the Levelling of Hils and Mountains, cutting of rocks at *Leige* in the Low Countries at the Colledge of the Engliſh Jeſuites, a worke for Gardens and Orchards for their Novices recreation and paſtime, which (as I have heard from their owne mouthes) coſt them thirty thouſand pound, which gift they ſqueezed out of one only Counteſſe of this Land. Like to this may prove their Colledge at *Gaunt*, for which they have obtained already a fair beginning of eight thouſand pounds from the Old Counteſſe of *Shrewsbury*, and from the greateſt part of the Eſtate of Mr. *Sackefield*, whom whiles they had him in their Colledges, they cheriſhed with their beſt dainties, and with hopes that one day he ſhould be a Canonized Saint of their Religious Order. All theſe knaveries do even thoſe Prieſts of the ſame Popiſh Religion diſcover of them, and thereby endevour to make them odious. And though of all, the Jeſuites be the moſt covetous, yet may I not excuſe the Secular Prieſts, Benedictine Monks, and the Fryers from this damnable ſinne; who alſo ſtrive for wealth and means for their *Doway*, *Paris* and *Lisboe* Colledges, and loſe no opportunities at the death of their Popiſh favorites for the obtaining a Legacy of one or two hundred Pounds, aſſuring them their ſoules ſhall be the better for their Maſſes. Thus do thoſe miſerable wretches in the very heat of their zeal of ſouls ſeek to ſuppreſſe one another, and having vowed Poverty, yet make they the Converſion of *England* the only object of their Ambition and unſatiable Covetouſneſſe. But above all is this envy and hatred found between Dominicans and Jeſuits, for theſe owe unto them an old grudge, for that when *Ignatius Loiola* lived, his Doctrine *de Trinitate* (which he pretended was revealed to him from heaven, for he was certainly paſt the Age of ſtudying at his Converſion) was queſtioned by the Dominicans, and he by a Church Cenſure publickly and ſhamefully whipped about their Cloiſters for his erroneous principles. This affront done to their chief Patron hath ſtirred up in them an unreconcilable hatred towards the Order of the Dominicans, and hath made them even crack their brains to oppoſe *Thomas Aquinas* his Doctrine. How ſhamefully do thoſe two Orders indevour the deſtruction of each other, branding one another with calumnies of hereſie, in the Opinions eſpecially *de Conceptione Mariæ*, *de libero Arbitrio*, *de Auxiliis*? And of the two, the Jeſuite is more bold and obſtinate in malice and hatred. How did they ſome twenty yeares agoe, all *Spain* over, about the Conception of *Mary*, ſtirre up the people againſt the Dominicans, in ſo much that they were in the very ſtreets termed Hereticks, ſtones caſt at them, the King almoſt perſwaded to baniſh them out of all his Dominions, and they poor Fryers forced to ſtand upon their guard in their Cloiſters in many Cities, eſpecially in *Sevill*, *Oſuna*, *Antiquera* and *Cordova*, to defend themſelves from the rude and furious multitude. Much like this was that publick conference and diſputation between *Valentia* the Jeſuite and Maſter *Lemos* the Dominican, before the Pope, concerning their altercation *de Auxiliis*; When the cunning Jeſuite hoping to brand with hereſie the whole Order of Dominicans, had cauſed *Auguſtines* Workes to be falſly printed at *Lions*, with ſuch words which might directly oppoſe the *Thomiſts* Opinion; and had prevailed, had not *Lemos* begged of the Pope that the Originall Books of *Auſtin* might be brought out of his Vatican Library, where was found the quite contrary words, to what the falſe Jeſuite had

had cauſed to be printed; he was forced to confeſſe his knavery, was harſhly reprehended, and with the apprehenſion of that great affront, the next night gave up his ghoſt to his father, the father of lies and falſhood.

An other reaſon of this mortall enmity between theſe two Orders, is for that the Jeſuites furpaſſe all others in ambition of honour, credit and eſtimation, whence it is they cannot indure to behold the Dominicans to exceed them in any preferment. Now it is that by the Laws of *Arragon* and the Kingdome of *Valencia*, the Kings of *Spain* are tyed to have a Dominican Fryer for their Confeſſor or ghoſtly father; which could but the Jeſuites obtain, how would they then rule and govern *Spain* and the Kings heart? But though they could never yet prevail to alter this eſtabliſhed law, yet have they prevailed now lately ſo that *Antonio de Sotomayor* the King of *Spains* Confeſſor ſhould lie at reſt in the Court of *Madrid*, with a penſion and dry title only; and that *Florencia* that grand Statiſt ſhould be Confeſſor to the Count of *Olivares*, the Royall Iſſue, the Queen, and ſhould hear the Kings confeſſions oftner then his choſen and elected Confeſſor *Sotomayor*. Secondly, the Dominicans as firſt Authors of the Inquiſition (which they prove from their Martyr *Peter* of *Verona*) ſtill injoy the higheſt places of that Court, which is a wofull ſight to the Jeſuites to ſee their Religion affaires handled, their Church kept pure from what they call hereſie by any but themſelves. O had they (as they have often ſtrived for it) in their hands the judicature of that tribunall, how ſhould all Dominicans, nay all ſorts of Prieſts but their own, preſently by them be branded with hereſie? Thirdly, in *Rome* there is an other preferment ſucceſſively due to Dominicans, from the time of *Dominicus de Guzman* founder of that Religion, to wit, to be *Magiſter Sacri Palatii*, the Popes Palace maſter, inſtituted to this purpoſe, that about him there may be ſome learned Divine (for commonly the Popes are more Statiſts, and Canoniſts, then Divines) to read a dayly lecture of Divinity to ſuch as will be inſtructed therein, and to reſolve the Pope himſelf of whatſoever difficult points in Divinity may be queſtioned. This is the Dominicans due with a penſion to maintain a Coach and ſervants within the Palace of St. *Peter*. Which the Jeſuites have often by favour and cunning Jeſuiticall trickes endevoured to bereave the Dominicans of; but proving labour in vain, they continue ſtill in their unplacable enmity and hatred againſt them. And thus you ſee the fountains of their ſtrife; which as here in *Europe* hath been well ſeen, ſo hath this contentious fire overpowered the fire of their zeal of ſouls in the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-India's*; and the wealth and riches of thoſe Countries, the ambition of honour in their Goſpell function hath more powerfully drawn them thither, then (what they pretend) the converſion of a barbarous and idolatrous nation. This was well publiſhed to the view of the whole world by a moſt infamous libell which in the year 1626. Fryer *Diego de Colliado* a miſſionary Fryer in *Phillipinas* and *Japan* ſet out of the unheard of paſſages and proceedings of the Jeſuites in thoſe *Eaſtern* parts. At that time the Jeſuites pretended that miſſion to themſelves only, and petitioned the King of *Spain*, that only they might go thither to preach, having been the firſt plantation of *Franciſcus Xavier*, and ſince continued ſucceſſively by their Prieſts. To this purpoſe they remembred the King of the great charges he was at in ſending ſo many Fryers, and maintaining them there; all which ſhould be ſaved, might they only have the ingreſſe into that Kingdome. All which charges they offered themſelves to bear, and further to bring up the *Indians* in the true faith, to inſtruct them and civilize them, to teach them all liberall ſciences, and to perfect them in muſick and all muſicall inſtruments, and in fencing, dancing, vaulting, painting and whatſoever elſe might make them a compleat, and civill people. But againſt all this was objected by *Diego Colliado*, that not zeal only and charity moved them to this offer, but their ambition and covetouſneſſe, which would ſoon be ſeen in their encroaching upon the ſilly and ſimple *Indians* wealth; bringing inſtances of many thouſand pounds which they had ſqueezed from the poor *Barbarians* in the Iſlands of *Philippinas*; And that their entring into *Japan* was more to enrich themſelves, then to convert the *Japonians* to Chriſtianiſme; that whenſoever they entred into the Kingdome they conveyed from *Manila* whole ſhips laden with the richeſt commodities of thoſe Iſlands; that their trading was beyond all other Merchants trading, their Bench for exchange money farre more accuſtomed then any other whether for *China*, for *Japan*, for *Peru* and *Mexico*; and that the Viceroy himſelf made uſe of none other, but theirs. That to keep out all other orders out of *Japan*, they had ingratiated themſelves ſo far, under pretence

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of trading into the Emperors favour by gifts of Watches, Clocks, Dials, Lockes, and Cabinets, and such like presents of most curious and artificiall Workmanship, that they had got free accesse to his Court, and counselled him to beware of Fryers, which cunningly crept into his Kingdome to preach a new law, perswading him by rigorous search and inquiries to root them out: thus politickly for their own ends hindering the increase of Christianisme by any means or instruments save themselves; and blinding the Emperors eyes with their cunning insinuations, that he might not see in them, what they desired he might discover in others, that they might appear in sheep skins, and others clothed with wolves skins; and so the Fryers might have little heart to trade, but enough to do to save themselves from the stormy persecution, whiles they freely might enjoy the liberty of rich trading. This brand upon these cunning foxes was commanded to be printed, thanks given to *Diego Colliado* for discovering to the Estate their crafty proceedings, with not a few tenents maintained by them in *Japan* even against their own Soveraigne; a fat Bishoprick was offered to the Fryer, which he refusing, commission was given unto him for the raising of forty Fryers out of *Spain*, and the conducting of them to the Islands of *Philippinas*, and that it should be free for all Priests and Fryers, as well as Jesuites, to passe to those parts for the preaching of Christ, and the extending of Christianisme among the Heathens and Barbarians. O that this my discovery made to *England* of those dissembling and false Priests, would make us wise to know and discover under the ashes of their pretended Religion, the fire of strife and contention which they kindle in Kingdomes, and to rake up that covetousnesse, which we may easily find in them; tending to the ruine of many fair estates, and to the temporall and spirituall danger of this our flourishing Kingdome!

Chap. III.

Shewing the manner of the Missions of Fryers and Jesuites to the India's.

ALL the Kingdomes of *America*, that have been conquered by the Kings of *Spain*, are divided as into severall temporall governments, so into severall spirituall jurisdictions, under the name of Provinces, belonging unto severall religious Orders, and their Provincials. These though so far distant from *Europe*, yet live with a dependency and subordination unto the Court of *Rome*, and are bound to send thither a strict account and relation of what most remarkable passages and successes happen there, as also what want of Preachers there is in every severall Province. Which is to be performed in this manner. Every religious Order (except the Jesuits and Dominicans, whose Generall continueth till death, unlesse a Cardinals cap be bestowed upon him) maketh election of one of the same order to be the head Ruler; or (as they call him) Generall over all those of the same profession every sixth year. The subjects unto this Generall which are dispersed in *Italy*, *Germany*, *Flanders*, *France*, *Spain*, *East* and *West-India's*, are divided into sundry Provinces, as in *Spain* there is one Province of *Andaluzia*, another of *Castilia nueva*, new Castile, another of *Castilia vieia*, old Castile, another of *Valencia*, another of *Arragon*, of *Murcia*, of *Catalonia*; So likewise in *America* there is the Province of *Mexico*, of *Mechoacan*, of *Guaxaca*, of *Chiapa* and *Guatemala*, of *Comayagua*, *Nicaragua* and the like. Every Province of these hath a head named the Provinciall, chosen by the chief of the Province every three years; which election is called a Provinciall Chapter, and the former a Generall Chapter, which also is allotted to be in some chief City, commonly in *Italy*, *France*, or *Spain*. When the Provinciall Chapter is kept, then by the consent of all that meet in it is there one named by name of Procurator or Diffinitor, who is to goe in the name of the whole Province to the next election of the Generall, and there to demand such things as his Province shall think fit, and to give an account of the state of the Province from whence he is sent. Thus from the *West-India's* are sent Procurators, who commonly are the best prizes the *Holland* ships meet with, for that they carry with them great wealth, and gifts to the Generals, to the Popes and Cardinals and Nobles in *Spain*, as bribes to facilitate whatsoever just or unjust, right or wrong they are to demand. Among other businesses their charge is this, to make known the great want of labo-

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rers in the aboundant and plentifull harveſt of the *India's* (though not all Provinces demand Preachers from *Spain*, as I will ſhew hereafter) and to deſire a number of thirty or forty young Prieſts, who may be fit for any *Indian* language and to ſucceed the old ſtanders.

The Order of the Province being read to the Generall, or his Generall Chapter, then are Letters Patents granted unto this Procurator from the Generall, naming him his Vicar Generall for ſuch a Province, and declaring his ſufficiency and worthy parts, (though none at all in him, as I have been witneſſe of ſome) the great paines he hath taken in the new planted *Indian* Church, and how fit he hath been judged to convey to thoſe parts, a Miſſion of ſuch as ſhall voluntarily offer themſelves for the propagation of Chriſtianity amongſt thoſe Barbarians. Then the tauny *Indian* Fryer being well ſet out with high Commendations, and fairly painted with flattering Elogies, preſents theſe his Patents (and with them peradventure a little wedge of Gold, a Box of Pearles, ſome Rubies or Diamonds, a Cheſt of Cochinill, or Sugar, with ſome boxes of curious Chocolatte, or ſome feather works of *Mechoacan*, ſome ſmall fruits of his great pains and labour) to the Pope; who for his firſt reward gives him his Toe and Pantofle to kiſſe, ſeconding this honour with a joyfull countenance to behold an Apoſtle, judging him worthy of the beſt of the *Indian* wealth, and his ſoul peradventure fit for the title of a Saint; This complacency in the gift and the giver, breeds immediately a *motus proprius* in his Holineſſe to grant a Bull with a degree of the Popes Commiſſary, wherein this poor Mendicant Fryer is inabled to runne over all the Cloiſters of his Profeſſion in *Spain*, to gather up his thirty or forty young Preachers. Who for their better encouragement are at their firſt liſting by the Popes Authority abſolved *a culpa & a pœna*, from all ſinne, and from their Purgatory and Hell due unto it, by a plenary Indulgence. And whoſoever ſhall oppoſe, or any way diſcourage this Popes Commiſſary, or thoſe that are or would be liſted by him, are *ipſo facto* excommunicated with an Anathem reſerved only to this Commiſſary or his Holineſſe himſelf. O what is it to ſee, when ſuch a Commiſſaries coming is known, how the young birds, that as in Cages are ſhut up within the wals of a Cloiſter, leap and cheriſh themſelves with hopes of liberty? What is it to ſee diſordered Fryers, who for their miſdemeanours, and leaping over their Cloiſter wals in the night to finde out their wanton harlots, have been impriſoned, now rejoyce at the coming of a Popes Commiſſary, and plenary Indulgence, freeing them from ſins paſt, and fitting them for the Converſion of ſouls, though their own be not averted from their Harlot, nor as yet truly and unfainedly converted to the love of God? True it is, I have known ſome that have written their names in the liſt of *Indian Miſſionaries*, men of ſober life and converſation, moved only with a blind zeal of encreaſing the Popiſh Religion: yet I dare ſay and confidently print this truth without wronging the Church of *Rome*, that of thirty or forty which in ſuch occaſions are commonly tranſported to the *India's*, the three parts of them are Fryers of leud lives, weary of their retired Cloiſter lives, who have been puniſhed often by their Superiours for their wilfull back-ſliding from that obedience which they formerly vowed; or for the breach of their poverty in cloſely retaining money by them to Card and Dice, of which ſort I could here namely inſert a long and tedious Catalogue; or laſtly ſuch, who have been impriſoned for violating their vow of chaſtity with leud and laſcivious women, either by ſecret flight from their Cloiſter, or by publike Apoſtatizing from their Order, and clothing themſelves in Lay-mens Apparell, to run about the ſafer with their wicked Concubines. Of which ſort it was my chance to be acquainted with one Fryer *John Nevarro* a Franciſcan in the City of *Guatemala*, who after he had in ſecular apparell enjoyed the leud company of one *Amaryllis* a famous Woman player in *Spain* for the ſpace of a year, fearing at laſt he might be diſcovered, liſted himſelf in a Miſſion to *Guatemala*, the year 1632. there hoping to enjoy with more liberty and leſſe fear of puniſhment any luſtfull or carnall object. Liberty, in a word, under the Cloake of Piety and Converſion of Souls, it is, that drawes ſo many Fryers (and commonly the younger ſort) to thoſe remote *American* parts; where after they have learned ſome *Indian* language, they are licenced with a Pariſh Charge to live alone out of the ſight of a watching Prior or Superiour, out of the bounds and compaſſe of Cloiſter wals, and authorized to keep houſe by themſelves, and to finger as many Spaniſh Patacones, as their wits deviſe ſhall teach them to ſqueeze out of the newly Converted *Indians* wealth. This

liberty

liberty they could never injoy in *Spain*, and this liberty is the Midwife of so many foul fals of wicked Fryers in those parts. For the present I shall returne again to my Fryer *John Navarro*, who at his coming to *Guatemala*, being made for his wit and learning, Master and Reader of Divinity, and much esteemed of for his acute Preaching, among many others got the estimation and love of a chief Gentlewoman, (*Quo semel est imbuta recens, servabit odorem testa diu*) who continued in *Navarro* his heart the former sent of the unchast love of *Amaryllis*, so far that the Fryer being blinded and wounded with *Cupids* Arrow sticking in his heart, ran headlong to quench his lustfull thirst upon St. *James* his day, 1635. for better memory of the Tragicall event (being the Spaniards common Advocate, and speciall Patron of that City, named St. *Jago de Guatemala*) where cruell *Mars* oppressing *Venus* in her wanton Acts, the injured husband acting *Mars*, and finding *Navarro Cupids* page saluting his *Venus* upon her bed, drew his sword, cutting the Fryer first in the head and face; who strugling with death, and purchasing his life with a swift and nimble flight to a Garden, where his own brother a Fryer of the same Order, and Pander to that foul act, entertained the Motherlesse children; for the husband having missed his fatall blow (willingly as some imagined, or unwillingly as others judged) in the Fryers heart, wilfully laid it in the throat of his unchast Wife, scarce leaving way for breath to make a speedy Confession of her sinne to *Navarro* his Brother; who tendring her soul, as much as his Brother had tendred her body, absolved her from her sinne, finding signes, though no uttering speech of Repentance, while the murderer fled, and the murthered lay in the door of her house for a sad object to all, that immediately flocked thither to see that bloudy Tragedy. The Wife being the same day buried, the Husband being retired to a close Sanctuary, *Navarro* was carried to his Convent to be cured; and after his Cure was banished that Country; whom two years after it was my chance to meet in *Cartagena* returning to *Spain* with his scard face, bearing the marke of his lascivious life, and of that liberty which he had injoyed in *America*. Such are the fruits of the zeal of those wretches, who upbraide our Church and Ministers for want of zeal to labour in the Conversion of Infidels. Who when they arrive to those parts, are entertained with ringing of Bels, with sounding of Trumpets most part of the way as they travail, and as Apostles are received by the *Indians*, though soon like *Judas* they fall from their calling, and for pleasure and covetousnesse sell away Christ from their souls. *England* may here learn to beware of such Converters, who are daily by name of Missionaries sent hither by the Pope to preach among us Popery; but like *Navarro* come to feed and cherish their wanton lusts, as I could give many instances, might I not be censured for long digressions in mingling English Histories with my *American* Travailes.

Chap. IV.

Shewing to what Provinces of the East *and* West-India's *belonging to the Crown of* Castilia *are sent Missions of Fryers and Jesuites. And specially of the Mission sent in the year* 1625.

IN all the Dominions of the King of *Spain* in *America*, there are two sorts of Spaniards more opposite one to another then in *Europe*, the Spaniard is opposite to the French, or to the Hollander, or to the Portingall; to wit, they that are born in any parts of *Spain* and goe thither, and they that are borne there of Spanish parents, whom the Spaniards to distinguish them from themselves, terme *Criolio's*, signifying the Natives of that Country. This hatred is so great, that I dare say, nothing might be more advantagious then this, to any other Nation that would conquer *America*. And nothing more easily gained then the wils and affections of the Natives of the Country, to joyne with any other Nation to free and rescue themselves from that subjection, or kinde of slavery, which they suffer under the hard usage of the Spaniards, and their partiall Government and justice toward them, and those that come from *Spain*. This is so grievous to the poor Criolio's or Natives, that my self have often heard them say, They would rather be subject to any other Prince, nay to the Hollanders, then

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to the *Spaniards*, if they thought they might enjoy their Religion; and others wiſhing the *Hollanders*, when they took *Truxillio* in *Honduras*, had ſtayed in it and entred further into the land, they ſhould have been welcome to them; and that the Religion they enjoyed with ſo much ſlavery, was nothing ſweet unto them. This mortall hatred betwixt theſe two ſorts of *Spaniards*, made the Criolio's ſo ready to joyn againſt the Marqueſſe of *Gelves* Viceroy of *Mexico*, in the tumult and mutiny of that City, wherein they cleaving to *Don Alonſo de Zerna*, the Arch-biſhop cauſed the Viceroy to eſcape for his life by flight, and would then have utterly rooted out the Spaniſh Government, had not ſome Prieſts diſſwaded them from it; but of this I ſhall ſpeak more largely hereafter. The cauſe of this deadly hatred hath proceeded from a jealouſie which the *Spaniards* have ever had of the Criolio's, that they would fain withdraw themſelves firſt from the commerce with *Spain*, and ſecondly, from the Government which is laid upon them; which is ſuch, that the Criolio's muſt be alwayes under, and a ſubject, alwayes governed, but ſcarce any a Governour. Never yet was there ſeen any Criolio made Viceroy of *Mexico*, or *Peru*; or Preſident of *Guatemala*, or *Santafe*, or S. *Domingo*; or Governour of *Yucacan*, *Cartagena*, *Havana*; or *Alcalde* Mayor (as they call them) of *Soconuſco*, *Chiapa*, *San Salvador*, and ſuch like places of credit. So likewiſe in the Courts of Chancery, as *S^to. Domingo*, *Mexico*, *Guatemala*, *Lima*, and the reſt; where commonly there are Six, called *Oydores* and one *Fiſcal*, ſcarce one of them to be found a Criolio, or native of the Country; though there be among them thoſe that deſcended of the chief Conquerors; as in *Lima* and *Peru* the *Pizarros*, in *Mexico* and *Guaxaca* the houſe of the Marqueſſe *Dell Valle*, *Ferdinando Cortes* his Succeſſors, others of the houſe of *Giron*, others of the houſe of *Aluarado*, others of the *Guſmanes*, finally many of the chiefeſt houſes of *Spain*; yet none of theſe ever preferred to any dignity. And not only thus are they kept from offices, but dayly affronted by the *Spaniards* as uncapable of any Government, and termed half *Indians* by them.

Which generall contempt hath alſo ſpread it ſelf in the Church, where no Criolio Prieſt is ſcarce ever preferred to be a Biſhop, or Canon in a Cathedrall Church, but all ſuch as come from *Spain*. So likewiſe in the religious orders they have many years indeavored to keep under and ſuppreſs ſuch as have been admitted to their orders of the natives of the Country, leſt the number of them ſhould prevail againſt thoſe that are brought from *Spain*; they have been very nice in chooſing of them, and though they have been forced to admit of ſome, yet ſtill the Provincials, the Priors, and all Superiors have been *Spaniards* born in *Spain*. Till now lately ſome Provinces have got the upper hand and prevailed againſt the *Spaniards*, and have ſo filled their Cloiſters with Criolio's or natives, that they have utterly refuſed to admit the ſupplies of *Spaniſh* Miſſions which formerly were ſent unto them, and till this day are ſent to others. In the Province of *Mexico* there are Dominicans, Franciſcans, Auguſtines, Carmelites, Mercenarians, and Jeſuites, whereof the Jeſuites and Carmelites only to this day prevail againſt Criolio's, bringing every two or three years Miſſions from *Spain*. The laſt Miſſion that was ſent to the Mercenarians was the year 1625. and then was the oppoſition ſuch between that Miſſion and the Criolio's, that in the election of the next Provinciall in their Cloiſter of *Mexico*, the Fryers drew knives one againſt another, and were like to kill each other, had not the Viceroy gone to their Cloiſter to make peace, and impriſon ſome of them. Yet at laſt by the multitude of voices the native party prevailed, and till this day have exempted themſelves from *Spaniſh* Miſſions, alleadging (as others have done) that they have Fryers enough in their Cloiſters, and need none to be ſent them from *Spain*; ſubmitting themſelves to the Pope, and preſenting to him as ſtately gifts as ever *Spaniards* did before them. In the Province of *Guaxaca* none admit of Miſſionaries from *Spain*; true it is, the Dominicans are but newly ſubdued by the Criolian party; and as yet are ſtrongly pleading at *Rome* for *Spaniſh* Fryers, alleadging that the glory and luſtre of their Religion hath been much blurred ſince the non-admittance of ſupplies of their zealous Compatriots. The Province of *Guatemala*, (which is of a large extent) containing *Guatemala*, *Chiapa*, the *Zoques*, part of *Tabaſco*, the *Zeldales*, the *Sacapulas*, the *Vera Paz*, all the coaſt lying to the South ſea, *Suchutepeques* and *Soconuſco*, *Comayagua*, *Honduras*, S. *Salvador*, *Nicaragua*, hath in it theſe orders chiefly, Dominicans, Franciſcans, Auguſtines, (who are ſubject to *Mexico* being one poor Cloiſter in *Guatemala*) Jeſuites alſo in *Guatemala* ſubject to the govenment of *Mexico* and Mercenarians; whereof

whereof the three orders of Dominicans, Franciſcans, and Mercenarians, are the only Preachers and pariſh Prieſts throughout all the forenamed Provinces. And theſe three Orders have ſtill kept under the Criolian party, never as yet ſuffering any of them to be Provinciall, bringing every two or three years, ſome one year and ſome another, Miſſions of Fryers from *Spain* to maintain and keep up their faction againſt the Criolians. The Provinces of *Peru* being more diſtant from *Spain*, and hard to come to by ſea, have no Miſſions ſent unto them. There are of the moſt Romiſh religious orders, yet the chief are Dominicans; and they all live above their vow of poverty, abounding in wealth, riot, liberty and pleaſures. In the Kingdome of *Nuevo reino de Granada*, and *Cartagena*, *Santa fee*, *Barinas*, *Popayan*, and the government of St. *Martha*, are Dominicans, Jeſuites, Franciſcans, Carmelites, Auguſtines and Mercenarians; whereof the Dominicans, Jeſuites and Franciſcans till this day admit of Miſſions from *Spain*. The Iſland of *Cuba*, *Jamaica*, *la Margarita*, *Puerto rico*, all are ſubject to the head Provinciall of *Santo Domingo*, being Dominicans, Jeſuites, and Franciſcans, and have all now and then Miſſions from *Spain*. *Yucatan* hath in it only Franciſcans, who live moſt richly and plentifully, and ſtrongly uphold the *Spaniſh* faction with *European* Miſſions: *Mechoacan* belongeth to the *Mexican* Fryers, and is in the ſame condition as was ſaid before of *Mexico*. Thus have I briefly run over all *America* that pertains to the Crown of *Caſtilia*: for the *Eaſt-India's* they belong to the Crown of *Portingall* and *Braſill*, as firſt diſcovered and poſſeſſed by the *Portingalls*, and now doubtleſſe are ſubject to King *John*, the new King of *Portingall*. Yet the Iſlands of *Philippinas* are ſubject to the King of *Spain*, and there are Dominicans, Franciſcans, Auguſtines, and Jeſuites, all which lie ſtill in wait in *Manila* the Metropolitan City, for ſome ſure ſhipping to *Japan*, to convert that Kingdome. And though they admit of ſome few Criolio's among them, eſpecially ſome of their Converts of *China* and *Japan*; yet their chief number and ſtrength is of Spaniſh Miſſionaries, who are more frequently conveyed thither then to the parts aforementioned of *America*. Firſt they are ſent in the ſhips that are bound for *Nueva Eſpana* and *Mexico*; and after they have reſted two or three months in *Mexico*, they are ſent to *Acapulco*, lying on the *Mar del Zur*, there they are ſhipped in two great Caracks which yearly go and come richly laden with *China*, *Japan*, and all *Eaſt-India* ware from *Manila* to *Acapulco* to enrich *Mexico* with far greater riches then any are ſent by the North ſea from *Spain*. The voyage from *Acapulco* thither, is longer then from *Spain* to *Mexico*, and eaſie and pleaſant, though the returne is far longer and moſt dangerous. The year of our Lord 1625. there were four Miſſions ſent; the one of Franciſcans to *Yucatan*, the other of Mercenarians to *Mexico*, the other two of Dominicans and Jeſuites to *Philippinas*. At which time it was my fortune to reſide among the Dominicans in *Xerez* in *Andaluzia*. The Popes Commiſſary for that Miſſion was Fryer *Matheo de la Villa*, who having a Commiſſion for thirty, and having gathered ſome 24 of them about *Caſtilia* and *Madrid*, ſent them by degrees well ſtored with mony to *Cales*, to take up a convenient lodging for himſelf and the reſt of his crew till the time of the ſetting forth of the *Indian* Fleet. This Commiſſary named one Fryer *Antonio Calvo* to be his ſubſtitute, and to viſite the Cloiſters of *Andaluzia* lying in his way; namely *Cordova*, *Sevill*, St. *Lucar*, and *Xerez*, to try if out of them he could make up his compleat number of thirty, which was after fully compleated. About the end of *May* came this worthy *Calvo* to *Xerez*, and in his Company one *Antonio Melendez* of the Colledge of St. *Gregory* in *Valladolid*, with whom I had formerly near acquaintance. This *Melendez* greatly rejoyced when he had found me; and being well ſtocked with *Indian* Patacones, the firſt night of his coming invited me to his chamber to a ſtately ſupper. The good *Xerez* Sack which was not ſpared, ſet my friend in ſuch a heat of zeal of converting *Japonians*, that all his talke was of thoſe parts never yet ſeen, and at leaſt ſix thouſand leagues diſtant. *Bacchus* metamorphoſed him from a Divine into an Orator, and made him a *Cicero* in parts of Rhetoricall eloquence. Nothing was omitted that might exhort me to joyne with him in that function, which he thought was Apoſtolicall. *Nemo Propheta in patria ſua*, was a great argument with him; ſometimes he propounded Martyrdome for the Goſpell ſake, and the glory after it, to have his life and death printed, and of poor Fryer *Antony* a Clothiers ſon of *Segovia* to be ſtyled St. *Antony* by the Pope, and made collaterall with the Apoſtles in heaven; thus did *Bacchus* make him ambitious of honour upon the earth, and preferment in heaven. But when he thought this Rhetorick had not prevailed, then would he act a

Midas

Midas and *Croesus*, fancying the *India's* paved with tiles of gold and silver, the stones to be Pearls, Rubies, and Diamonds, the trees to be hung with clusters of Nutmegs bigger then the clusters of grapes of *Canaan*, the fields to be planted with Sugar-canes, which should so sweeten the *Chocolatte*, that it should far exceed the milke and hony of the Land of promise; the silkes of *China* he conceited so common, that the sailes of the ships were nothing else; finally he dreamed of *Midas* happinesse, that whatsoever he touched should be turned to gold: Thus did *Xerez* Nectar make my friend and mortified Fryer, a covetous worldling. And yet from a rich covetous Merchant did it shape him to a Courtier in pleasures; fancying the *Philippinas* to be the *Eden*, where was all joy without tears, mirth without sadnesse, laughing without sorrow, comfort without grief, plenty without want, no not of *Eves* for *Adams*, excepted only that in it should be no forbidden fruit, but all lawfull for the taste and sweetning of the palate; and as *Adam* would have been as God, so conceited *Melendez* himself a God in that *Eden*; whom travelling, *Indian* Waites and Trumpets should accompany; and to whom, entring into any Town, nosegaies should be presented, flowers and boughes should be strowed in his way, Arches should be erected to ride under, Bels for joy should be rung, and *Indian* knees for duty and homage, as to a God, should be bowed to the very ground. From this inducing argument, and representation of a Paradise, he fell into a strong Rhetoricall point of curiosity; finding out a tree of knowledge, and a Philosophicall maxime, *Omnis homo naturaliter scire desiderat*, man naturally inclines to know more and more; which knowledge he fancied could be no where more furnished with rare curiosities then in those parts; for there should the Gold and Silver, which here are fingered, in their growth in the bowels of the earth be known; there should the Pepper be known in its season, the Nutmeg and Clove, the Cinnamon as a rine or bark on a tree; the fashioning of the Sugar from a green growing Cane into a loaf; the strange shaping the *Cochinil* from a worme to so rich a Scarlet die; the changing of the *Tinta* which is but grasse with stalke and leaves into an *Indigo* black die, should be taught and learned; and without much labour thus should our ignorance be instructed with various and sundry curiosities of knowledge and understanding. Finally, though *Xerez* liquor (grapes bewitching tears) had put this bewitching eloquence into my *Antonies* brain) yet he doubted not to preferre before it his wine of *Philippinas*, growing on tall and high trees of *Coco*, wherein he longed to drink a Spanish Brindis in my company to all his friends remaining behind in *Spain*. Who would not be moved by these his arguments to follow him, and his *Calvo*, or ball pated Superiour? Thus supper being ended my *Melendez* desired to know how my heart stood affected to his journey; and breaking out into a *Voto a Dios* with his converting zeal, he swore he should have no quiet nights rest untill he were fully satisfied of my resolution to accompany him. And having learned the Poets expression, *Quid non mortalia pectora cogis, Auri sacra fames?* he offered unto me halfe a dozen of Spanish pistols, assuring me that I should want nothing, and that the next morning *Calvo* should furnish me with whatsoever monies I needed, for to buy things necessary for the comfort of so long and tedious a journey. To whom I answered, suddain resolutions might bring future grief and sorrow, and that I should that night lie down and take counsell with my pillow, assuring him that for his sake I would do much, and that if I resolved to goe, my resolution should draw on an other friend of mine, an Irish Fryer, named *Thomas Delcon*. Thus took I my leave of my *Melendez*, and retired my self to my Chamber and bed, which that night was no place of repose and rest to me as formerly it had been. I must needs say *Melendez* his arguments, though most of them moved me not; yet the opportunity offered me to hide my self from all sight and knowledge of my dearest friends, stirred up in me a serious thought of an angry and harsh letter, which not long before I had received out of *England* from mine own father, signifying unto me the displeasure of most of my friends and kindred, and his own grievous indignation against me, for that having spent so much money in training me up to learning, I had not only utterly refused to be of the Jesuites Order (which was his only hopes) but had proved in my affections a deadly foe and enemy unto them. And that he would have thought his money better spent, if I had been a Scullion in a Colledge of Jesuites, then if I should prove a Generall of the Order of Dominicans; that I should never thinke to be welcome to my Brothers nor kindred in *England*, nor to him; that I should not expect ever more to hear from him, nor dare to see him if ever I returned to *England*; but

expect

expect that he would set upon me even Jesuites, whom I had deserted and opposed, to chase me out of my Country; that *Hailing* house though he had lost it with much more means for his Religion during his life; yet with the consent of my Eldest Brother (now Governour of *Oxford* and Masse-founder in that our Famous University) he would sell it away; that neither from the Estate, or money made of it, I might injoy a childs part due unto me. These reasons stole that nights rest from my body, and sleep from my eyes, tears keeping them uncloſed and open, lest *Cynthia's* black and mourning Mantle should offer to cover, close and shut them. To this Letters consideration was joyned a strong opposition, which serious Studies and ripenesse of Learning, with a carefull discussion of some Schoole-points and Controversies had bred in me against some chief of the Popish Tenets. Well could I have wished to have come to *England*, there to satisfie and ease my troubled Conscience; well considered I, that if I stayed in *Spain*, when my Studies were compleatly finished, the Dominicans with a Popes Mandamus would send me home for a Missionary to my Country. But then well considered I the sight of a wrathfull Father, the power of a furious Brother a Colonel, who (as now landed in *England* to search me out, and do me mischief) then, when *Zephyrus* with a pleasant gale seconded his Popish zeal, might violently assault me. Well considered I the increased rout and rable of both their great friends, the Jesuites, who what with Court friends power, what with subtile plots and Policies would soon and easily hunt me out of *England*. Lastly, well considered I my *Melendez* his last inducing Argument of the increase of knowledge naturall by the insight of rich *America* and flourishing *Asia*, and of knowledge spirituall by a long contemplation of that new planted Church, and of those Church Planters lives and Conversations. Wherefore after a whole nights strife and inward debate, as the glorious Planet began to banish nights dismall horror, rising with a bright and cheerfull countenance, rose in my minde a firme and setled resolution to visit *America*, and there to abide till such time as Death should surprise my angry Father, *Ignatius Loiola* his devoted Mecænas, and till I might there gain out of *Potosi* or *Sacatecas* treasure that might Counterpoise that Childs part which for detesting the four-cornered Cap, and black Coat of Jesuites, my Father had deprived me of. So in recompence of the Supper which my friend *Anthony* had bestowed upon me, I gave him a most pleasant breakfast by discovering unto him my purpose and resolution to accompany him in his long and Navall journey. And at noon I feasted him with a dinner of one dish more then his breakfast, to wit, the company also of my Irish friend *Thomas De leon*. After dinner we both were presented to *Calvo* the bald pate Superiour; who immediately imbraced us, promised to us many curtesies in the way, read unto us a Memorandum of what dainties he had provided for us, what varieties of fish and flesh: how many Sheep, how many Gammons of Bacon, how many fat Hens, how many Hogs, how many barrels of white Bisket, how many Jars of wine of *Casalla*, what store of Rice, Figs, Olives, Capars, Rayfins, Lemmons, sweet and sowre Oranges, Pomgranets, Comfits, Preserves, Conserves and all sorts of *Portingall* sweet meates; he flattered us that he would make us Masters of Arts, and of Divinity in *Manila*; then opened he his purse, and freely gave us to spend that day in *Xerez*, and to buy what most we had a mind to, and to carry us to *Cales*; Lastly he opened his hands to bestow upon us the holy Fathers Benediction, that no mischief might befall us in our way; I expected some Relique or nail of his great toe, or one of his velvet Pantofles to kisse; But peradventure with frequent kissing through *Italy* and all *Castilia* it was even worn thredbare. Much were we frowned at by the Dominicans our chiefest friends of *Xerez*, but the liberty which with *Melendez* we enjoyed that day about the City of *Xerez* took from us all sad thoughts, which so suddain a departure from our friends might have caused in us. And *Calvo* much fearing that the love of some Nuns (too powerfull with Spanish Fryers) might yet keep us back from pursuing our purposed journey, with cunning policy perswaded us to depart from *Xerez* the next morning. Which willingly we performed in company of *Melendez* and another Spanish Fryer of that City (leaving our Chests and Books to *Calvo* to send after us) and that day we travailed like Spanish Dons upon our little Boricoes, or Asses towards *Puerto de Santa Maria*, taking in our way that stately Convent of *Cartusians*, and the River of *Guadalethe*, the former Poets River of oblivion, tasting of the fruits of those *Elysian* fields and Gardens and drinking of *Guadalethes* Crystall streams, that so perpetuall oblivion might blind and cover all those Abstractive Species which the intuitive know-

ledge of *Spains* and *Xerezes* pleasant objects had deeply stamped in our thoughts and hearts. At evening we came to that *Puerto* so famous for harbouring *Spains* chief Gallies, and at that time *Don Frederique de Toledo*; who hearing of the arrivall of four *Indian* Apostles, would not lose that occasion of some Soul-sanctification (which he thought might be his purchase) by entertaining us that night at Supper. The Town thought their streets blessed with our walking in them, and wished they might injoy some Reliques from us, whom they beheld as appointed to Martyrdome, for Christ and Antichrist sake together; the Galley slaves strived who should sound their Waits and Trumpets most joyfully, *Don Frederique* spared no cost in Fish and Flesh that night, doubting not but that receiving four Prophets, he should receive a fourfold reward hereafter. Supper being ended, we were by *Don Frederique* his Gentlemen conveyed to the Cloister of the *Minims* appointed by *Don Frederique* to lodge us that night, who to shew their brotherly love washed our feet, and so recommended us to quiet and peaceable rest. The next morning after a stately breakfast bestowed upon us by those poor Mendicant Fryers, a boat was prepared for us and *Don Frederique* his Gentlemen to wait on us, and to convey us to *Cales*. Where we found out our fellow Apostles, and the Popes Commissary Fryer *Matthew de la Villa*, who welcomed us with *Romes* Indulgences, *a culpa & a pœna*, and with a flourishing Table stored with Fish and Flesh for dinner. There we continued in dayly honour and estimation, enjoying the sights most pleasant which *Cales* both by Sea and Land could afford unto us, untill the time of the Fleets departing. Which when it drew near, our grand Apostle Fryer *Matthew de la Villa*, (whom we thought burned with zeal of Martyrdome) took his leave of us; shewing us the Popes Commission to nominate in his place whom he list, and naming bald *Calvo* for Superiour, returning himself to *Madrid* with more desire to enjoy a Bishoprick in *Spain* (as we understood) then to sacrifice his life in *Japan*. His departure caused a mutiny amongst us, and cooled the spirit of two of our Missionaries, who privily fled from us. The rest were pleased with honest *Calvo*, for that he was a simple and ignorant old man, (whom they could more jeer then any way respect) more Scullion-like in dayly greazing his white habit with handling his fat Gammons of Bacon, then like a Popes Commissary; for his Masters Toe the proudest of our Missioners then would willingly have kissed; yet *Calvoes* greasie fists the humblest would loath to have kissed. Thus under a sloven was that Apostolicall Mission to be conveyed first to *Mexico* three thousand *Spanish* Leagues from *Spain*, and afterwards three thousand Leagues further from thence to *Manila* the Metropolitan and Court City of the Islands of *Philippinas*.

Chap. V.

Of the Indian *Fleet that departed from* Cales, Anno Dom. 1625. *And of some remarkable passages in that Voiage.*

Upon the first of *July* in the afternoon, *Don Carlos de Ybarra* Admirall of the Galeons that then lay in the Bay of *Cales* gave order that a warning Peece should be shot off to warn all Passengers, Souldiers, and Mariners to betake themselves the next morning to their Ships. O what was it to see some of our Apostolicall company who had injoyed much liberty for a moneth in *Cales*, who had began to entangle their hearts with some young Nuns love, now hang down their heads, and act with sad and demure looks loath to depart, and cry out, *Bonum est nos hic esse*, It is good for us to be here? and amongst them one Fryer *John De Pacheco* made the warning Peece to be a warning to him to hide himself (who could no more be found amongst his fellow Missioners) thinking it a part of hard cruelty to forsake a young Franciscan Nun to whom he had engaged and wholly devoted his heart. What was it to see others with weeping eyes piercing through the Iron grates the tender Virgins hearts, leaving and bequeathing unto them some pledges of their wanton love, and receiving from them some Cordials against Sea-sickness, Caps, Shirts and Handkerchiefs, to eye them or wear them when *Æolus* or *Neptune* should most oppose them? The second of *July* in the morning early notice was given unto us, that one Fryer *Pablo de Londres*, an old crab-fac'd English Fryer living in St. *Lucar* had got the Duke of *Medina* his letter and sent it to the Governour of *Cales* charging

charging him to ſeek for me and to ſtay me, ſignifying the King of *Spains* will and pleaſure, that no *Engliſh* ſhould paſſe to the *India's*, having a Country of their own to convert; this did that old Fryer to ſtop my paſſage, having before wrote unto me many letters to the ſame purpoſe, and got a letter from that father *Maſter* that was in *England* before with the Count of *Gondomar*, *alias* Fryer *Diego de la Fluente*, then Provinciall of *Caſtilia*, and ſent it unto me, wherein that Superiour offered me many kinde offers of preferment, if I would deſiſt from my journey, and to return to him to *Caſtilia*: but none of theſe letters could prevail with me; nor the Governours ſearching ſtop me; for immediately I was conveyed alone to our ſhip, and there cloſely hid in a barrell that was emptied of Biſquet to that purpoſe; ſo that when the Governour came a ſhip-board to enquire for an *Engliſh* man, Fryer *Calvo* having the father of liers in my ſtead about him, reſolutely denyed me, who would not be found, becauſe not ſought for in a barrels belly. This found our Apoſtles ſport and talke that firſt day. Then went out the ſhips one by one crying, *A dios*, *A dios*, and the Town replying *Buen viaie*, *buen viaie*; when all were out and no hopes of enjoying more *Cales* pleaſures and liberty, then began my young Fryers to wiſh themſelves again a Land, ſome began preſently to feed the Fiſhes with their Nuns ſweet dainties; others to wonder at the number of ſtately ſhips, which with eight Galeons that went to convey us beyond the Iſlands of *Canaria* were forty one in all; ſome for one Port of the *Indiaes*, and ſome for another. To *Puerto Rico* went that year two ſhips; to *Santo Domingo* three, to *Jamaica* two, to *Margarita* one, to the *Havana* two, to *Cartagena* three, to *Campeche* two, to *Honduras* and *Truxillo* two, and to St. *John de Ulhua*, or *Vera Crux* ſixteen; all laden with Wines, Figs, Raiſins, Olives, Oyle, Cloth, Carſies, Linnen, Iron and quick-ſilver for the Mines, to fetch out the pure ſilver of *Sacatecas* from the earthen droſſe from whence it is digged. The perſons of moſt note that went that year was firſt the Marqueſſe *de Serralvo* with his Lady, who went for Viceroy of *Mexico*, in ſtead of the *Conde de Gelves* then retired to a Cloiſter for fear of the common people, who the year before had mutined againſt him; this Marqueſſe went in the ſhip called St. *Andrew*, and with him in the ſame ſhip went *Don Martin de Carrillo* a Prieſt, and Inquiſitor of the Inquiſition of *Valladolid*; who was ſent for Viſiter Generall to *Mexico*, to examine the ſtrife between the Conde *de Gelves* and the Arch-biſhop, and the mutiny that for their ſakes had happened; with full Commiſſion and Authority to impriſon, baniſh, hang and execute all Delinquents. In the ſhip called *Santa Gertrudis* went *Don Jon Nino de Toledo*, who was ſent to be Preſident of *Manila* in *Philippinas*, and in the ſame ſhip with him went the whole Miſſion of thirty Jeſuites ſent to *Philippinas*; who had already got the favour of the Preſident, and politickly fought to be paſſengers in the ſame ſhip, that ſo they might the more ingratiate themſelves to him; for this cunning generation ſtudies purpoſely how to inſinuate themſelves with Kings, Princes, Great men, Rulers and Commanders. In the ſhip called St. *Antony* went my Dominican Miſſion of 27 Fryers. In the ſhip called *Noſtra Sennora de Regla* went four and twenty Mercenarian Fryers bound for *Mexico*; part of thoſe that afterwards drew their knives to ſlaſh and cut the Criolio's of their Profeſſion. Thus with the Convoy of eight Galeons for fear of *Turkes* and *Hollanders* (whom the Spaniſh *Dons* ſhake and tremble at) ſet forward our Fleet with a pleaſant and proſperous gale, with a quiet and milken ſea, untill we came to the Golfe, called *Golfo de Yeguas*, or of *kicking Mares*, whoſe waves and ſwelling ſurges did ſo kick our ſhips, that we thought they would have kicked our St. *Anthonies* gilded image out of our ſhip, and bereaved my *Antonio Melendez* of his gilt and painted idol, (to whom he dayly bowed and prayed againſt the mercileſſe element) and that all our ſhips galleries would have been torn from us with the ſpurnings and blowes of that outragious Golfe. But at laſt having overcome the danger of this Golfe, the eight Galeons took their leave of us, and left our Merchant ſhips now to ſhift for themſelves. The departure of theſe Galeons was moſt ſolemnly performed on each ſide, ſaluting each other with their Ordinance, viſiting each other with their Cock-boats, the Admirall of the Fleet feaſting with a ſtately dinner in his ſhip, the Admirall of the Galeons; and the like performing moſt of the other ſhips to the ſeverall Colonels and Captains and other their allied friends that were of the Royall Fleet. Here it was worth noting to hear the ſighes of many of our *Indian* Apoſtles, wiſhing they might return again in any of thoſe Galeons to *Spain*; their zeal was now cold, and ſome endevoured many wayes for *Calvo* his licence to returne (which

could not be granted) others imployed themselves most of that day in writing letters to their friends, and Sisters in *Cales*. Thus dinner being ended, and the two Admirals solemnly taking their leaves, the warning piece being shot off for the Galeons to joyne together, and turn their course to *Spain*, we bad mutuall adieu, crying one to another *Buen Viaie*, *Buen passage*, we kept our course towards *America*, sailing before the winde constantly till we came to *America*; A thing worth noting in that voyage from *Spain* to the *Indies*; that after the Islands of *Canaria* are once left, there is one constant winde, continuing to *America* still the same without any opposition or contrariety of other windes; and this so prosperous and full on the sailes, that did it blow constantly, and were it not interrupted with many calmes, doubtlesse the voyage might be ended in a moneth or lesse. But such were the calmes that many times we had, that we got not to the sight of any land till the twentieth day of *August*: so that near six weeks we sailed as on a river of fresh water, much delighting and sporting our selves in fishing, many sorts of fishes, but especially one, which by the *Spaniards* is called *Dorado*, the golden fish, for the skin and scales of it that glitter like gold; of this sort we found such abundance, that no sooner was the hook with any small bait cast into the sea, when presently the *Dorado* was caught, so that we took them many times for pleasure, and cast them again into the sea, being a fish fitter to be eaten fresh then salted. Many were the feasts and sports used in the ships, till we discovered the first land, or Island called *Desseada*. The last day of *July* (being according to the Jesuites Order, and *Romes* appointment, the day of *Ignatius* their Patron and founder of their Religion) the gallant ship called *Sta. Gertrudis* (wherein went 30 Jesuites) for theirs and their Saints sake made to all the rest of the Fleet a most gallant shew, she being trimmed round about with white linnen, her flagges and top gallants representing some the Jesuites Armes, others the picture of *Ignatius* himself, and this from the evening before, shooting off that night at least fifty shot of Ordinance, besides four or five hundred squibs (the weather being very calme) and all her masts and tacklings hung with paper Lanthornes having burning lights within them; the Waits ceased not from sounding, nor the *Spaniards* from singing all night. The days solemn sport was likewise great, the Jesuites increasing the *Spaniards* joy with an open procession in the ship; singing their superstitious Hymnes and Anthemes to their supposed Saint; and all this seconded with roaring Ordinance, no powder being spared for the compleating that days joy and triumph. The fourth of *August* following, being the day which *Rome* doth dedicate to *Dominick*, the first founder of the Dominicans or Preachers Order, the ship wherein I was, named St. *Anthony*, strived to exceed *Sta. Gertrudis*, by the assistance of the 27 Dominicans that were in her. All was performed both by night and day; as formerly in *Sta. Gertrudis*, both with powder, squibs, lights, Waits and musick. And further did the Dominicans joy and triumph exceed the Jesuites, in that they invited all the Jesuites, with *Don John Nino de Toledo* the President of *Manila*, with the Captain of the ship of *Sta. Gertrudis*, to a stately dinner both of Fish and Flesh; which dinner being ended, for the afternoons sport they had prepared a Comedy out of famous *Lope de Vega*, to be acted by some Souldiers, Passengers and some of the younger sort of Fryers; which I confesse was as stately acted and set forth both in shewes and good apparell, in that narrow compasse of our ship, as might have been upon the best stage in the Court of *Madrid*. The Comedy being ended, and a banquet of sweet meats prepared for the closing up of that days mirth, both ours, and *Sta. Gertrudis* Cock-boat carried backe our invited friends, bidding each other adieu with our Waites and chiefest Ordinance. Thus went we on our Sea Voiage without any storme, with pleasant gales, many calmes, dayly sports and pastimes, till we discovered the first land called *Desseada* upon the twentieth day of *August*.

Chap. VI.

Of our discovery of some Islands, and what trouble befell us in one of them.

THe Admirall of our Fleet wondring much at our slow sailing, who from the second of *July* to the 19 of *August* had seen nor discovered any land, save only the Islands of *Canaria*; the same day in the morning called to Councell all the Pilots of the ships,

to

to know their opinions concerning our preſent being, and the neerneſſe of Land. The Ships therefore drew near unto the Admirall one by one, that every Pilot might deliver his opinion. Here was cauſe of laughter enough, for the paſſengers to hear the wiſe Pilots skil; One ſaying, we were three hundred miles, another two hundred, another one hundred, another fifty, another more, another leſſe, all erring much from the truth (as afterwards appeared) ſave only one old Pilot of the ſmalleſt Veſſell of all, who affirmed reſolutely, that with that ſmall gale wherewith we then ſailed, we ſhould come to *Guadalupe* the next morning. All the reſt laughed at him, but he might well have laughed at them, for the next morning by Sun-riſing we plainly diſcovered an Iſland called *Deſſeada* by the *Spaniards*, or the deſired Land, for that at the firſt diſcovery of the *India's* it was the firſt Land the *Spaniards* found, being then as deſirous to find ſome Land after many dayes ſailing as we were. After this Iſland preſently we diſcovered another called *Marigalante*, then another called *Dominica*, and laſtly, another named *Guadalupe*, which was that we aimed at to refreſh our ſelves in, to waſh our foul clothes, and to take in freſh water, whereof we ſtood in great need. By two or three of the clock in the afternoon we came to a ſafe Rode lying before the Iſland, where we caſt our Anchors, no wayes fearfull of the naked Barbarians of that and the other Iſlands, who with great joy do yearly expect the *Spaniſh* Fleets coming, and by the Moones doe reckon the Months, and thereby make their gueſſe at their coming, and prepare ſome their Sugar Canes, others the Plantin, others the Tortois, ſome one Proviſion, ſome another to barter with the *Spaniards* for their ſmall Haberdaſh, or Iron, Knives, or ſuch things which may help them in their Wars, which commonly they make againſt ſome other Iſlands. Before our Anchors were caſt, out came the *Indians* to meet us in their Canoa's, round like Troughes, ſome whereof had been painted by our *Engliſh*, ſome by the *Hollanders*, ſome by the *French*, as might appear by their ſeverall Armes, it being a common Rode and harbour to all Nations that ſail to *America*.

Before we reſolved to go to ſhore, we taſted of thoſe *Indian* fruits, the Plantin above all pleaſing our taſte and Palate. We could not but much wonder at that ſight never yet ſeen by us of people naked, with their hair hanging down to the middle of their backes, with their faces cut out in ſeverall faſhions, or flowers, with thin plates hanging at their Noſes, like Hog-rings, and fauning upon us like children; ſome ſpeaking in their unknowne tongue, others uſing ſignes for ſuch things as we imagined they deſired. Their ſigne for ſome of our *Spaniſh* Wine was eaſily perceived, and their requeſt moſt willingly granted to by our men, who with one reaſonable Cup of *Spaniſh* Sacke preſently tumbled up their heels, and left them like ſwine tumbling on the Deck of our ſhip. After a while that our people had ſported with theſe rude and Savage *Indians*, our two Cock-boates were ready to carry to ſhore ſuch as either had clothes to waſh, or a deſire to bathe themſelves in a River of freſh Water which is within the Iſland, or a minde to ſet their feet again upon unmoveable Land, after ſo many dayes of uncertain footing in a floating and reeling ſhip. But that day being far ſpent, our Fryers reſolved to ſtay in the ſhip, and the next whole day to viſite the Iſland; many of the Mariners and Paſſengers of all the ſhips went that evening to ſhore, ſome returning at night, and ſome without fear continuing with the *Indians* all night on ſhore. The next morning my ſelf and moſt of our Fryers went and having hired ſome *Spaniards* to waſh our clothes, we wandred ſometimes all together, ſometimes two and two, and ſometimes one alone about the Iſland, meeting with many *Indians*, who did us no hurt, but rather like children fauned upon us, offering us of their fruits, and begging of us whatſoever toies of pins, points or gloves they eſpied about us. We ventured to goe to ſome of their houſes which ſtood by a pleaſant River, and were by them kindly entertained, eating of their fiſh, and wild deers fleſh. About noon we chanced to meet with ſome of the Jeſuites of *Santa Gertrudis* Ship in the midſt of the Mountain, who were very earneſt in talke with a *Mulatto* all naked like the reſt of the *Indians*. This *Mulatto* was a Chriſtian, born in *Sevill* in *Spain*, and had been ſlave there formerly to a rich Merchant, his name was *Lewis*, and ſpoke the *Spaniſh* Language very perfectly. Some twelve years before, he had run away from his Maſter by reaſon of hard and ſlaviſh uſage, and having got to *Cales*, offering his ſervice to a Gentleman then bound for *America*, the Gentleman fearing not that his true Maſter ſhould ever have more notice of him from a new World, took him a ſhip board with

him as his ſlave. The *Mulatto* remembring the many ſtripes which he had ſuffered from his firſt cruell Maſter, and fearing that from *America* he might by ſome intelligence or other be ſent back again to *Spain*, and alſo jealous of his ſecond Maſter (whoſe blowes he had begun to ſuffer in the Ship) that he would prove as cruell as his firſt; when the Ships arrived at *Guadalupe*, reſolved rather to die amongſt the *Indians* (which he knew might be his hardeſt fortune) then evermore to live in ſlavery under *Spaniards*. So caſting his life upon good or bad fortune, he hid himſelf among the trees in the Mountaine till the Ships were departed, who after being found by the *Indians*, and giving them ſome toyes which he had got by ſtealth from his Maſter, he was entertained by them, they liking him, and he them. Thus continued this poor Chriſtian ſlave among thoſe Barbarians from year to year; who had care to hide himſelf at the comming of the *Spaniſh* Fleet yearly. In twelve years that he had thus continued amongſt them, he had learned their language, was married to an *Indian*, by whom he had three children living. The Jeſuites by chance having met with him, and perceiving more by the Wooll upon his head, that he was a *Mulatto*, then by his black and tauny skin (for thoſe *Indians* paint themſelves all over with a red colour) they preſently imagined the truth that he could not come thither but with ſome *Spaniard*: ſo entring into diſcourſe with him, and finding him to ſpeak *Spaniſh*, they got the whole truth of him. Then we joyning with the Jeſuites, began to perſwade the poor Chriſtian to forſake that heatheniſh life, wherein his ſoul could never be ſaved, promiſing him if he would goe along with us, he ſhould be free from ſlavery for ever. Poor Soul, though he had lived twelve years without hearing a word of the true God, worſhipping ſtockes and ſtones with the other Heathens; yet when he heard again of Chriſt, of eternall damnation in hels torments, and of everlaſting Salvation in Heavens joyes, he began to weep, aſſuring us that he would goe with us, were it not for his Wife and Children, whom he tenderly loved, and could not forſake them. To this we replyed, that he might be a means of ſaving likewiſe their Souls, if he would bring them with him; and further that we would aſſure him that care ſhould be taken that neither he, his Wife, nor Children ſhould ever want means competent for the maintenance of their lives. The *Mulatto* hearkned well to all this, though a ſuddain fear ſurprized him, becauſe certain *Indians* paſſed by, and noted his long conference with us. The poor and timorous *Mulatto* then told us, that he was in danger, for having been known by us, and that he feared the *Indians* would kill him, and ſuſpect that we would ſteal him away; which if they did, and it were noiſed about the Iſland, we ſhould ſoon ſee their love changed into cruell rage and Mutiny. We perſwaded him not to fear any thing they could do to us; who had Souldiers, Guns and Ordinance to ſecure ours and his life alſo, wiſhing him to reſolve to bring his Wife and Children but to the Sea ſide, where our men were drying their Clothes, and would defend him, and a Boat ſhould be ready to convey him with his Wife and Children a Ship board. The *Mulatto* promiſed to do as we had counſelled him, and that he would entice his Wife and Children to the Sea ſide to barter with us their Wares for ours, deſiring ſome of the Jeſuites (whom he ſaid he ſhould know by their black Coates) to be there ready for him with a Cock-boat. *Lewis* departed, as to us he ſeemed, reſolute in what he had agreed; Our joy likewiſe was great with the hope of bringing to the light of Chriſtianity five ſouls out of the darkneſſe of heatheniſh Idolatry. The Jeſuites who had begun with this *Mulatto* were deſirous that the happy end and concluſion might be their glory. So taking their leaves of us, they haſtened to the Sea to informe the Admirall of what they had done, and to provide that the Cock-boat of their Ship might be in readineſſe to receive *Lewis*, and his family. We likewiſe returned to the ſhore to ſee if our Shirts and Clothes were dry. Moſt of us (among whom my ſelf was one) finding our Linnen ready and our Boat on ſhore went aboard to our Ship, leaving two or three of our company with many of other ſhips on ſhore, eſpecially the Jeſuites waiting for their prey. When we came to our Ship, moſt of the Fryers with what love they had found in the Barbarians, were inflamed with a new zeal of ſtaying in that Iſland, and converting thoſe Heathens to Chriſtianity, apprehending it an eaſie buſineſſe (they being a loving people) and no wayes dangerous to us, by reaſon of the Fleet that yearly paſſeth that way, and might enquire after our uſage. But by ſome it was objected, that it was a raſh and fooliſh zeal with great hazard of their lives, and many inconveniences were objected againſt

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ſo blind and ſimple an attempt. But thoſe that were moſt zealous ſlighted all reaſons, ſaying that the worſt that could happen to them could be but to be butchered, ſacrificed and eaten up; and that for ſuch a purpoſe they had come out of *Spain* to be crowned with the Crown of Martyrdome for confeſſing and preaching Jeſus Chriſt. While we were hot in this ſolemne conſultation, behold an uproar on the ſhoar; our people running to and fro to ſave their lives, leaving their clothes, and haſting to the Cock-boats, filling them ſo faſt and ſo full, that ſome ſunke with all the people in them; Above all, moſt pitifull and lamentable were the cryes of ſome of our women, many caſting themſelves into the Seachooſing rather to venture to be taken up by ſome Boat, or at worſt to be drowned, then to be taken and to be cruelly butchered by the *Indians*. We wondering at this ſuddain alteration, not knowing the cauſe of it, at laſt perceived the Arrowes to come out thick from the Wood from behind the Trees, and thereby gueſſed at the truth that the Barbarians were mutinied. The uproar laſted not half an hour, for preſently our Admirall ſhot off two or three Peeces of Ordinance and ſent a Company of Souldiers to ſhoar to guard it and our people with their Muskets; which was well and ſuddainly performed, and all the *Indians* ſoon diſperſed. Three of our Fryers who had remained on the Land, our Cock-boat brought them to us with more of our Paſſengers, among whom one Fryer *John De la Cueva*, was dangerouſly ſhot and wounded in one of his Shoulders; this Fryer had been earneſt with me to ſtay on ſhoar with him, which I refuſed, and ſo eſcaped that cruell and fiery onſet of the *Indians*. Beſides thoſe that were drowned and taken up at ſhoar (which were fifteen perſons) two Jeſuites were found dead upon the Sand, three more dangerouſly wounded, three paſſengers likewiſe ſlain, ten wounded, beſides three more of the Fleet which could never be found alive or dead, and were thought to have been found in the Wood by the *Indians*, and to have been murthered by them. Our *Mulatto Lewis* came not according to his word; but in his ſtead a ſuddain Army of treacherous *Indians*, which gave us motive enough to think, that either *Lewis* himſelf had diſcovered the Jeſuites Plot to take him away with his Wife and Children; or that the *Indians* ſuſpecting it by his talke with us had made him confeſſe it. And certainly this was the ground of their mutiny; for whereas *Lewis* before had ſaid, that he would know the Jeſuites by their black Coats, it ſeems he had well deſcribed them above all the reſt unto the *Indians*, for (as it was after well obſerved) moſt of their Arrowes was directed to the black Markes, and ſo five of them in little above a quarter of an hour ſlain and wounded. All that night our Souldiers guarded the Coaſt, often ſhooting off their Muskets to affright the *Indians*, who appeared no more unto us. All that night we ſlept little, for we watched our Ship; leſt the *Indians* in their Canoas ſhould ſet upon us and take us aſleep. Some lamented the dead and drowned, others pitied our wounded Fryer *John De la Cueva*, who all that night lay in a great torment and miſery, others laughed and jeared at thoſe zealous Fryers, who would have ſtayed in that Iſland to Convert the Barbarians, ſaying they had their full deſire of Martyrdome, for had they been but that night with the *Indians*, doubtleſſe they had been ſhread for their Suppers. But now we perceived their zeal was coole, and they deſired no more to ſtay with ſuch a Barbarous kind of people; but rather wiſhed the Admirall would ſhoot off the warning Peece for us all to take up our Anchors, and depart from ſo dangerous a place. In the morning althe ſhips made haſt to take in ſuch freſh water as was neceſſary for their voiage yet to *America*, a ſtrong watch being kept along the Coaſt, and a Guard guarding our men to the River; and all the morning while this was doing not one *Indian* could be found or ſeen, nor our three men that were miſſing, appeared. Thus at noon with a pleaſant and proſperous Gale we hoiſted up our Sails, leaving the Iſlands and harbour of *Guadalupe*.

Chap. VII.

Of our further Sayling to St. John de Ulhua, aliàs, Vera Crux; *and of our landing there.*

Upon the 22 day of *Auguſt*, we ſailed ſo pleaſantly that we ſoon left the ſight of the Iſlands; The *Indians* uproar had weaved for us a thred of long diſcourſe; It made

made some hate their calling to teach and convert *Indians*. But *Calvo* he encouraged us, telling us many stories of the good and gentle nature of the *Indians* of *Philippinas*, to whom we were going, and that most of them were Christians already, who esteemed their Priests as Gods upon the earth; and that those that were not as yet converted to Christianity, were kept in awe by the power of the *Spaniards*. Our chief care the first two or three dayes was to look to our plantins which we got from the *Indians*. This fruit pleased us all exceedingly, judging it to be as good, or better then any fruit in *Spain*. It is not gathered ripe from the tree; but being gathered green, it is hung up some dayes, and so ripens and growes yellow and mellow, and every bit as sweet as honey. Our Sugar Canes were no lesse pleasing unto us, whilst chewing the pith, we refreshed and sweetned our mouthes with the juice. We fed for the first week almost upon nothing but *Tortois*; which seemed likewise to us that had never before seen it, one of the Sea monsters, the shell being so hard as to bear any Cart wheel, and in some above two yards broad; when first they were opened, we were amazed to see the number of egges that were in them, a thousand being the least that we judged to be in some of them. Our *Spaniards* made with them an excellent broth with all sorts of spices. The meat seemed rather flesh then Sea fish, which being corned with salt, and hung up two or three dayes in the aire, tasted like Veal. Thus our Hens, our Sheep, our powdred Beef, and gammons of Bacon, which we brought from *Spain*, were some dayes slighted, while with greedy stomacks we fell hard to our Sea Veal.

After four dayes sail, our Fryer *John de la Cueva*, who had been shot by the *Indians*, died; all his body being swelled, which gave us just occasion to thinke, that the arrow which was shot into his shoulder was poisoned. His buriall was as solemnly performed as could be at Sea. His grave being the whole Ocean, he had weighty stones hung to his feet, two more to his shoulders, and one to his brest; and then the superstitious *Romish Dirige* and *Requiem* being sung for his soul, his Corpse being held out to the Sea on the ship side, with ropes ready to let him fall, all the ship crying out three times, *buen Viaie* (that is, a good Voiage) to his soul chiefly, and also to his Corpse ready to travail to the deep to feed the Whales: at the first cry all the Ordinance were shot off, the ropes on a suddain loosed, and *John de la Cueva* with the weight of heavy stones plunged deep into the Sea, whom no mortall eyes ever more beheld. The like we saw performed in the ship of *Santa Gertrudis*, to another Jesuite, one of the three who had been dangerously wounded by the *Indians* of *Guadalupe*; who likewise died like our Fryer, his body being swelled as with poyson. Now our sayling was more comfortable then before; for we passed in the sight of the land of *Puerto Rico*, and then of the great Island of *Sto. Domingo*; and here our company began to be lessened, some departing to *Puerto Rico*, and *Sto. Domingo*, others to *Cartagena*, and *Havana*, and *Honduras*, *Jamaica*, and *Jucatan*. We remained now alone the Fleet for *Mexico*; and so sailed till we came to what the *Spaniards* call *la Sonda*, or the sound of *Mexico*; for here we often sounded the Sea; which was so calme, that a whole week we were stayed for want of winde, scarce stirring from the place where first we were caught by the calme. Here likewise we had great sport in fishing, filling again our bellies with *Dorados*, and saving that provision which we had brought from *Spain*. But the heat was so extraordinary, that the day was no pleasure unto us; for the repercussion of the Suns heat upon the still water and pitch of our ships, kindled a scorching fire, which all the day distempered our bodies with a constant running sweat, forcing us to cast off most of our clothes. The evenings and nights were somewhat more comfortable, yet the heat which the sun had left in the pitched ribs and planks of the ship was such, that under deck and in our Cabins we were not able to sleep, but in our shirts were forced to walke, or sit, or lie upon the deck. The Mariners fell to washing themselves and to swimming, till the infortunate death of one in the ship called St. *Francisco*, made them suddainly leave off that sport. The neerer we came to the main land, the sea abounds with a monstrous fish called by the *Spaniards*, *Tiburon*. Some mistake this fish for the *Caiman*, or *Crocodile*, holding them both for one; and thinking that it is only the *Caiman* or *Crocodile* (by abuse called *Tiburon*) which devoures mans flesh, a whole joynt at a bit in the water. But the mistake is grosse, for the *Caiman* is plated all over with shels, whereas the *Tiburon* hath no shels, but only like other great Sea fishes, hath a thick skin. The *Caiman* though the *Indians* eat of it, yet the *Spaniards* hate it; who eat of the *Tiburon*; and in our ship catching one with a tridentall iron

Fork,

The
YLANDES
of the
WESTINDIES
Septentrio
Cabo dela Florida
Bahama
Lucayenequi
Guatao
Minbres
Bimini
Curatao
Guanima
Alacra
Guanihia
Tortugas
Los Martires
Roques
Triangilo
TROPICVS
Cayo d'Sal
El Placel
Samana
CANCRI
Cayo de S. Nicolas
Anguilla
Mayaguana
Mira
porvoz
Cubana
Anumane
Abreoya
Havana
Matanças
Golfo d'Xagua
Golfo d'Sal
Frances
del Cabron
Golfo d Samana
C. S. Rafal
C. S. Antonio
Isla d'Pinos
Cayman grande
Cozumel
Cayman
Guanebo
Caymito
Pta del Aguada
Pta Negrillo
C. d Falcon
IA. MAYCO
Cristan
Guanchae
Santanilla
Morata
Ranas
Bivoras
Falcon
Serranilla
Viciosas
Stc Catalina
S. Andreas
Bague
Batta
Vela
Frayles
Coana
Margarita
Cubagua
Blanca
Cruz
Saba
Sitio
S. Christouao
Nieues
Redonda
Montserrate
S. Bartholom
Barbada
Antigua
La Deseada
Marigalante
Guadalupe
Dominica
Matalino
Stc Lucia
S. Vincente
Granada
Testigos
Vogelevlandt
Ta bago
Pde galera
C. de la Vela
de Coquibacoa
Montes
Oruba
Curacao
Bonayre
I. de aves
Roca
orchilla
I. Blanco
Frayles
Rio grande
Stc Marcha
R. de la hacha
Cartagena
Coro
Tortuga
Comana
Comanagot
C. de la Cordillera
Caracas
Panama
Pto Bello
Darien
Spaensche l.
Lug: leagues
Duytsche myten
17½ een gr:
20 een gra:
15 een graet
Meridiens

RPJCB

Fork, and haling him with a Cable rope to the ſhip ſide, and then binding him with it, (being as much as a dozen or fifteen men could do to hoiſe him up into the ſhip) we found him to be a moſt monſtrous creature, twelve ells long at leaſt, which we ſalted, and found likewiſe to eat like fleſh, as hath been ſaid of the *Tortois*. This kind is as ravenous after mans fleſh as the *Crocodile*, and many of them were to be ſeen in this Sound of *Mexico*.

The *Spaniards* bathing themſelves dayly by the Ships ſide, (where there is no ſuch danger of the *Tiburon*; who uſeth not to come too near the ſhips) one Mariner of the ſhip called St. *Franciſco* being more venturous then the reſt, and offering to ſwimme from his ſhip, to ſee ſome friends in another not farre off, chanced to be a moſt unfortunate prey to one of them, who before any boat could be ſet out to help him, was thrice ſeen to be pulled under water by the Monſter, who had devoured a leg, an arme, and part of his ſhoulder; the reſt of the body was after found and taken up, and carried to St. *Franciſco*, and there buried in the forme and manner as hath been ſaid of our Fryer *Iohn de la Cueva*. *They that goe down to the ſea in ſhips, theſe ſee the works of the Lord, and his wonders in the deep*, *Pſalm.* 107. 23,24. Here they ſhall ſee not only Whales, but other fiſhes like Monſters maſtering ſtrong and valiant men, with ſeverall ſets of ſharpe, ſtrong and mighty teeth, devouring at one bit whole limmes with fleſh and bones together. This miſchance ſadded all our Fleet for three days till it pleaſed God to refreſh our burning heat with a cool and proſperous winde, driving us out of that calme Sound, which (if we had continued in it with that exceſſive heat) might have proved moſt unſound and unhealthy to our bodies. Three dayes after we had ſailed, being Munday in the morning about ſeven of the clock, one of our Fryers ſaying Maſſe, and all the people in the ſhip kneeling to hear it, and to adore their bread God, one Mariner with a loud and ſodain voice cryeth out *Tierra, Tierra, Tierra*, Land, Land, Land, which rejoyced the hearts of all that were in the ſhip, as it ſeemed, more then their Maſſe; for leaving that, and their God upon the Altar with the Prieſt to eat him alone, they aroſe from their knees, to behold the Continent of *America*. Great was the joy of all the ſhips that day; and great was the ſlaughter which our old *Calvo* made among his fowles, (which he had ſpared formerly) to feaſt that day his Fryers. About ten of the clock the whole face of the land was viſibly apparent, and we with full ſaile running to embrace it. But our wiſe Admirall knowing the danger of the Coaſt, and eſpecially the dangerous entring into the Haven, by reaſon of the many rockes that lie about it, and are known only by markes and flags ſet out to give all ſhips warning of them, perceiving that with the winde wherewith we ſailed then, we ſhould not come till towards evening to the Port: and laſtly, fearing leſt ſome North winde (which is dangerous upon that Coaſt, and ordinary in the month of *September*) ſhould in the night ariſe, and endanger all our ſhips upon the rockes; he therefore called to Councell all the Pilots, to know whether it were beſt to keep on our ſailing with full ſail that day, with hopes to get that day in good time into the Haven, or elſe with the middle ſail only to draw near, that the next morning with more ſecurity we might with the help of boats from land be guided in. The reſult of the Councell was not to venture that day too near unto the Port, for fear of being benighted, but to pull down all but the middle ſail. The winde began to calme, and our ſhips to move ſlowly towards land, and ſo we continued till night. A double watch was kept that night in our ſhip, and the Pilot was more watchfull himſelf and more carefull then at other times; But our Fryers betook themſelves to their reſt; which continued not long; for before midnight the winde turned to the North, which cauſed a ſuddain and generall cry and uproar in ours, and all the other ſhips. Our Mariners came to the Fryers, uſing almoſt the ſame words of *Ionah* 1. 6. *What meaneſt thou, O ſleeper? Ariſe, call upon thy God, if ſo be that God will thinke upon us, that we periſh not.* They changed the name of God into the bleſſed Virgin *Mary*, in whom they ſeem to confide in ſuch occaſions more then in God himſelf. Their fear was more for the apprehenſion of danger by that kind of winde, and of what might happen, then for what as yet the winde threatned, which was not ſtrong nor boiſterous; however hallowed wax candles were lighed by the Fryers, knees bowed to *Mary*, Letanies and other hymnes and prayers ſung aloud unto her, till towards the dawning of the day; when behold the North winde ceaſed, our wonted gale began to blow again, it being Gods will and pleaſure, and no effect of the howling Fryers prayers to *Mary*, who yet ſuperſtitiouſly

ſtitiouſly to deceive the ſimple people, cryed out, *Milagro, Milagro, Milagro*, a miracle, a miracle, a miracle. By eight a clock in the morning we came to the ſight of the houſes, and made ſignes for boats to convey us into the Haven; which immediately with great joy came out, and guided us one by one between thoſe Rockes, which make that Port as dangerous as any I have diſcovered in all my travailes both upon the North and South ſea. Our Waits plaied moſt pleaſantly, our Ordinance ſaluted both Town and Fort over againſt it, our hearts and countenances reciprocally rejoyced; we caſt our Anchors, which yet were not enough to ſecure our ſhips in that moſt dangerous Haven, but further with Cable ropes we ſecured them to Iron rings, which for that purpoſe are faſtned into the Wall of the Fort, for fear of the ſtrong and boiſterous Northern winds. And thus welcoming one another to a new world, many boates waiting for us, we preſently went with joy to ſet footing in *America*.

CHAP. VIII.

Of our Landing at Vera Crux, *otherwiſe St.* John de Ulhua, *and of our entertainment there.*

UPon the 12 day of *September*, we happily arrived in *America* in that famous Town called St. *John de Ulhua*, otherwiſe *Vera Crux*; famous for that it was the firſt beginning of the famous conqueſt of that valiant and ever renowned Conqueror *Hernando Cortez*. Here firſt was that noble and generous reſolution, that never heard of policy, to ſinke the ſhips which had brought the firſt *Spaniards* to that Continent, greater then any of the other three parts of the world, to the intent that they might thinke of nothing but ſuch a conqueſt as after followed, being deſtitute of the help of their ſhips, and without hopes evermore to returne to *Cuba*, *Yucatan*, or any of thoſe parts from whence they had come. Here it was that the firſt five hundred *Spaniards* ſtrengthned themſelves againſt millions of enemies, and againſt the biggeſt fourth part of all the world. Here were the firſt Magiſtrates, Judges, Aldermen, Officers of Juſtice named. The proper name of the Town is St. *John de Ulhua*, otherwiſe called *Vera Crux*, from the old Harbour and Haven of *Vera Crux*, ſix leagues from this, and ſo called, for that upon good Fryday it was firſt diſcovered. But the old *Vera Crux* prooving too dangerous an Harbour for ſhips, by reaſon of the violence of the Northern winds; it was utterly forſaken by the *Spaniards*, who removed to St. *John de Ulhua*, where their ſhips found the firſt ſafe road by reaſon of a Rock, which is a ſtrong defence againſt the winds. And becauſe the memory of the worke of that good Fryday ſhould never be forgotten, to St. *John de Ulhua* they have added the name alſo of *Vera Crux*, taken from that firſt Haven which was diſcovered upon good Fryday, *Anno* 1519.

As ſoon as we came to ſhore, we found very ſolemn preparations for entertainment, all the Town being reſorted to the Sea ſide, all the Prieſts and Canons of the Cathedrall Church, all the religious Orders of the ſeverall Convents (which are there Dominicans, Franciſcans, Mercenarians, and Jeſuites) being in a readineſſe with their Croſſes borne before them, to guide the new Viceroy of *Mexico*, in proceſſion to the chief Cathedrall Church. The Fryers and Jeſuites were quicker in going to land then the great *Don* the Marqueſſe *de Serralvo* and his Lady. Some of them kiſſed the ground as holy in their opinion, for the Converſion of thoſe *Indians* to Chriſtianity, who before had worſhipped Idols, and ſacrificed to Devils; others kneeled upon their knees making ſhort prayers, ſome to the Virgin *Mary*, others to ſuch Saints as they beſt affected; and ſo betook themſelves to the places and ſtations of thoſe of their profeſſion. In the mean time all the Canon playing both from ſhips and Caſtle, landed the Viceroy and his Lady and all his Train, accompanied with *Don Martin de Carrillo* the Viſiter generall for the ſtrife between the Count of *Gelves* the laſt Viceroy, and the Archbiſhop of *Mexico*. The great *Don* and his Lady being placed under a Canopie of ſtate, began the *Te Deum* to be ſung with much variety of muſicall inſtruments, all marching in proceſſion to the Cathedrall, where with many lights of burning lampes, torches, and Wax candles, was to the view of all, ſet upon the high Altar their God of bread; to whom all knees were bowed, a prayer of thanks-giving ſung, holy water by a Prieſt

ſprinkled

ſprinkled upon all the people, and laſtly a Maſſe with three Prieſts ſolemnly celebrated. This being ended the Viceroy was attended on by the Chief High Juſtice, named *Alcalde* Maior, by the Officers of the Town, ſome Judges ſent from *Mexico* to that purpoſe, and all the Souldiers of the Ships and Town unto his lodging; The Fryers likewiſe in Proceſſion with their Croſſe before them were conducted to their ſeverall Cloiſters. Fryer *Calvo* preſented his Dominicans to the Prior of the Cloiſter of St. *Dominicke*, who entertained us very lovingly with ſome ſweet Meats, and every one with a Cup of the *Indian* drink called *Chocolatte*, whereof I ſhall ſpeak hereafter. This refreſhment being ended, we proceeded to a better, which was a moſt ſtately Dinner both of Fiſh and Fleſh; no Fowles were ſpared, many Capons, Turkey Cocks, and Hens were prodigally laviſhed, to ſhew us the abundance and plenty of Proviſion of that Country. The Prior of this Cloiſter was no ſtayed, ancient, grey-headed man, ſuch as uſually are made Superiours to govern young and wanton Fryers; but he was a Gallant and Amorous young Sparke, who (as we were there informed) had obtained from his Superiour the Provinciall Government of that Convent with a bribe of a thouſand Duckats. After dinner he had ſome of us to his Chamber, where we obſerved his lightneſſe and little ſavour of Religion or Mortification in him; We thought to have found in his Chamber ſome ſtately Library, which might tell us of Learning and love of Study; but we found not above a dozen old Books, ſtanding in a corner covered with duſt and Cobwebs, as if they were aſhamed that the Treaſure that lay hid in them, ſhould be ſo much forgotten, and undervalued, and the Guitarra (the *Spaniſh* Lute) preferred and ſet above them. His Chamber was richly dreſſed and hung with many pictures, and with hangings, ſome made with Cotten Wooll, others with various coloured feathers of *Mechoacan*, his Tables covered with Carpets of Silk; his Cubboards adorned with ſeverall ſorts of *China* Cups and Diſhes, ſtored within with ſeverall dainties of ſweet Meats and Conſerves.

This ſight ſeemed to the zealous Fryers of our Miſſion moſt vain, and unbeſeeming a poor and mendicant Fryer; to the others, whoſe end in coming from *Spain* to thoſe parts was Liberty, and looſneſſe, and covetouſneſſe of riches, this ſight was pleaſing and gave them great incouragement to enter further into that Country, where ſoon a Mendicant *Lazarus* might become a proud and wealthy *Dives*. The diſcourſe of the young and light headed Prior was nothing but vain boaſting of himſelf, of his birth, his parts, his favour with the chief Superior or Provinciall, the love which the beſt Ladies, the richeſt Merchants Wives of the Town bare unto him, of his clear and excellent voice, and great dexterity in Muſick, whereof he preſently gave us a taſte, tuning his *Guitarra* and ſinging to us ſome verſes (as he ſaid, of his own compoſing) ſome lovely *Amaryllis*, adding ſcandall to ſcandall, looſeneſſe to liberty, which it grieved ſome of us to ſee in a Superiour who ſhould have taught with words, and in his life and Converſation, examples of Repentance and Mortification. No ſooner were our ſenſes of hearing delighted well with Muſick, our ſight with the objects of Cotten-Wool, Silke and Featherworkes, but preſently our Prior cauſed to be brought forth of all his ſtore of dainties, ſuch variety as might likewiſe reliſh well and delight our ſenſe of taſting. Thus as we were truly tranſported from *Europe* to *America*, ſo the world ſeemed truly to be altered, our ſenſes changed from what they were the night and day before, when we heard the hideous noiſe of the Mariners hoiſing up Sailes, when we ſaw the Deep and monſters of it, when we taſted the ſtinking water, when we ſmelt the Tar and Pitch; but here we heard a quivering and trembling voice and inſtrument well tuned, we beheld wealth and riches, we taſted what was ſweet, and in the Sweet-meats ſmelt the Muske and Civit, wherewith that Epicurean Prior had ſeaſoned his Conſerves. Here we broke up our diſcourſe and paſtimes, deſirous to walke abroad and take a view of the Town, having no more time then that, and the next day to ſtay in it. We compaſſed it round about that afternoon; and found the ſituation of it to be ſandy, except on the South-weſt ſide, where it is Mooriſh ground, and full of ſtanding Bogs, which with the great heats that are there, cauſe it to be a very unhealthy place; The number of Inhabitants may be three thouſand, and amongſt them ſome very rich Merchants, ſome worth two hundred, ſome three hundred, and ſome four hundred thouſand Duckats. Of the buildings little we obſerved, for they are all, both Houſes, Churches, and Cloiſters, built with Boards and Timber, the Walls of the richeſt mans houſe being made but of boards, which with the impetuous Winds

from

from the North hath been cauſe that many times the town hath been for the moſt part of it burnt down to the ground. The great Trading from *Mexico*, and by *Mexico* from the *Eaſt-India's*, from *Spain*, from *Cuba*, *St^o. Domingo*, *Jucatan*, *Poetobello*, and by *Poetobello* from *Peru*, from *Cartagena*, and all the Iſlands lying upon the North Sea, and by the River *Alvarado* going up to *Zapotecas*, St. *Ildefonſo*, and towards *Guaxaca*, and by the River *Grijaval*, running up to *Tabaſco*, *Los Zoques* and *Chiapa de Indios*, maketh this little Town very rich, and to abound with all the Commodities of the Continent Land, and of all the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-India's* Treaſures. The unhealthineſſe of the place is the reaſon of the paucity of Inhabitants, and the paucity of them, together with the rich Trading and commerce, the reaſons that the Merchants therein are extraordinary rich; who yet might have been far richer, had not the Town been ſo often fired, and they in the fire had great loſſes. All the ſtrength of this Town is firſt the hard and dangerous entrance into the Haven; and ſecondly, a rock which lyeth before the Town leſſe then a Musket ſhot off; upon which is built a Caſtle, and in the Caſtle a ſlight Garriſon of Souldiers. In the Town there is neither Fort, nor Caſtle, nor ſcarce any people of warlike mindes. The Rock and Caſtle are as a Wall, defence, and incloſure to the Haven, which otherwiſe lyeth wide open to the Ocean, and to the Northern Winds. No Ship dares caſt Anchor within the Haven, but only under the Rock and Caſte, and yet not ſure enough ſo with Anchors, except with Cables alſo they be bound and faſtned to Rings of Iron for that purpoſe to the ſide of the Rock; from whence ſometimes it hath happened that ſhips floating with the Stream too much on one ſide the Rock have been driven off and caſt upon the other Rocks or out to the Ocean, the Cables of their Anchors, and thoſe wherewith they have been faſtned to the Caſtle being broken with the force of the Winds. This happened to one of our Ships the firſt night after we landed; who were happy that we were not then at Sea; for there aroſe ſuch a ſtorme and tempeſt from the North, that it quite broke the Cables of one Ship and drove it out to the main Sea, and we thought it would have blown and droven us out of our beds after it, for the ſlight boarded houſes did ſo totter and ſhake, that we expected every hour when they would fall upon our heads. We had that night enough of St. *John de Ulhua*, and little reſt, though feaſted as well at Supper as at Dinner by our vain boaſting Prior, who before we went to bed, had cauſed all our feet to be waſhed, that now in eaſier beds then for above two months together the ſtrait and narrow Cabins of the Ship had allowed us, our ſleep might be more quiet, and more nouriſhing to our bodies; but the whiſtling winds and tottering Chambers, which made our beds uneaſie Cradles to us, cauſed us to flie from our reſt at midnight, and with our bare (though waſhed) feet to ſeek the dirty Yard for ſafer ſhelter. In the morning the Fryers of the Cloiſter who were acquainted with thoſe winds and ſtorms, laughed at our fearfulneſſe, aſſuring us, that they never ſlept better then when their Beds were rocked with ſuch like blaſts. But that nights affrightment made us weary already of our good and kind entertainment; we deſired to remove from the Sea ſide; which our Superiour *Calvo* yeelded to, not for our fear ſake ſo much, as for his fear, leſt with eating too much of the ſtuits of that Country, and drinking after them too greedily of the water (which cauſeth dangerous Fluxes, and haſteneth death to thoſe that newly come from *Spain* to thoſe parts) we ſhould fall ſick, and die there, as hundreds did after our departure for want of temperance in the uſe of thoſe fruits, which before they had never ſeen or eaten. Thirty Mules were ready for us, which had been brought a purpoſe from *Mexico*, and had waited for us in St. *John de Ulhua* ſix days before ever the Fleet arrived. *Calvo* that day buſied himſelf a ſhip board in ſending to ſhore our Cheſts, and ſuch proviſion as had been left of Wines, and Bisket, Gammons of Bacon, and ſalted Beef, whereof there was ſome ſtore, beſides a dozen Hens and three Sheep, which was much wondred at, that ſo much ſhould be left after ſo long a voiage. In the mean time we viſited our friends and took our leaves of them in the forenoon; and after Dinner ſeats were prepared for us in the Cathedrall Church to ſit and ſee a Comedy acted, which had been on purpoſe ſtudied and prepared by the Town for the entertainment of the new Viceroy of *Mexico*. Thus two days only we abode in St. *John de Ulhua*, and ſo departed.

CHAP.

Chap. IX.

Of our journey from St. John de Ulhua *to* Mexico; *and of the most remarkeable Townes and Villages in the way.*

Upon the 14. day of *September* we left the Town and Port of St. *John de Ulhua*, entring into the rode to *Mexico*, which we found the first three or four leagues to be very sandy, as wide and open as is our rode from *London* to St. *Albans*. The first *Indians* we met with, was at the old *Vera Crux*, a Town seated by the sea side, which the *Spaniards* that first conquered that Countrey thought to have made their chief Harbour; but afterwards by reason of the small shelter they found in it for their ships against the North winds, they left it, and removed to St. *John de Ulhua*. Here we began to discover the power of the Priests and Fryers over the poor *Indians*, and their subjection and obedience unto them. The Prior of St. *John de Ulhua* had writ a letter unto them the day before of our passing that way, charging them to meet us in the way, and to welcome us into those parts; which was by the poor *Indians* gallantly performed; for two miles before we came to the Town, there met us on Horse-back some twenty of the chief of the Town, presenting unto every one of us a nosegay of flowers; who rid before us a bow shot, till we met with more company on foot, to wit, the Trumpeters, the Waits; (who sounded pleasantly all the way before us) the Officers of the Church; such as here we call Church-wardens, though more in number, according to the many sodalities or confraternities of Saints whom they serve, these likewise presented to each of us a nosegay; next met us the singing men and boyes, all the Queristers, who softly and leisurely walked before us singing, *Te Deum laudamus*, till we came to the midst of the Town, where were two great Elme trees, the chief Market place; there was set up one long arbour with green bowes, and a table ready furnished with boxes of Conserves, and other sweet meats, and diet-bread, to prepare our stomachs for a cup of *Chocolatte*, which while it was seasoning with the hot water and Sugar, the chief *Indians* and officers of the Town made a speech unto us, having first kneeled down and kissed our hands one by one; they welcomed us into their Country, calling us the Apostles of Jesus Christ, thanked us for that we had left our own Country, our friends, our Fathers and mothers for to save their souls; they told us they honoured us as Gods upon earth; and many such complements they used till our *Chocolatte* was brought. We refreshed our selves for the space of one hour, and gave hearty thanks to the *Indians* for their kind respects unto us, assuring them that nothing was more dear unto us in this world then their souls, which that we might save, we regarded not sea, nor land dangers, not the unhumane cruelties of barbarous and savage *Indians*, (who as yet had no knowledge of the true God) no nor our own lives.

And thus we took our leaves, giving unto the chief of them some Beads, some medals, some Crosses of brasse, some *Agnus Dei*, some reliques brought from *Spain*, and to every one of the Town an indulgence of forty years, (which the Pope had granted unto us, to bestow where and upon whom, and as often as we would) wherewith we began to blinde that simple people with ignorant, erroneous, and Popish principles. As we went out of the arbour to take our Mules, behold the Market place was full of *Indian* men and women; who as they saw us ready to depart, kneeled upon the ground as adoring us for a blessing, which as we rid along, we bestowed upon them with lifted up hands on high, making over them the signe of the Crosse. And this submission of the poor *Indians* unto the Priests in those parts; this vain-glory in admitting such ceremonious entertainment and publick worship from them, did so puffe up some of our youug Fryers hearts, that already they thought themselves better then the best Bishops in *Spain*, who though proud enough, yet never travail there with such publick acclamations as we did. The Waits and Trumpets sounded again before us, and the chief of the Town conducted us a mile forward, and so took their leaves. The first two dayes we lodged but in poor small *Indian* Townes, among whom we still found kind entertainment, and good store of provision, especially of Hens, Capons, Turkeys, and seve-

rall ſorts of fruits. The third day at night we came to a great Town conſiſting of near two thouſand inhabitants, ſome *Spaniards*, ſome *Indians*, called *Xalappa de la Vera Crux*. This Town in the year 1634. was made a new Biſhops Sea (the Biſhoprick of the City, called *La Puebla de los Angeles*, being divided into two) and this being not above the third part of it, is thought to be worth ten thouſand duckats a year. It ſtands in a very fertile ſoil for *Indian* Wheat called *Maiz*, and ſome *Spaniſh* Wheat. There are many Townes about it of *Indians*; but what makes it rich, are the many farmes of Sugar, and ſome which they call *Eſtantia's*, rich farmes for breeding of Mules and Cattell; and likewiſe ſome Farmes of *Cochinil*. In this Town there is but one great Church and an inferiour Chappell, both belonging to a Cloiſter of Franciſcan Fryers, wherein we were lodged that night and the next day, being the Lords day. Though the revenues of this Cloiſter be great, yet it maintains not above half a dozen Fryers, where twenty might be plentifully maintained, that ſo thoſe few lubbers might be more abundantly, and like Epicures fed and nouriſhed. The Superiour or Guardian of this Cloiſter was no leſſe vain then the Prior of St. *John de Ulhua*; and though he were not of our profeſſion, yet he welcomed us with ſtately entertainment. Here and whereſoever further we travelled, we ſtill found in the Prieſts and Fryers looſeneſſe of life, and their wayes and proceedings contrary to the wayes of their profeſſion, ſworne to by a ſolemne Vow and Covenant. This Order eſpecially of the mendicant Franciſcan Fryers voweth (beſides chaſtity and obedience) poverty more ſtrictly to be obſerved, then any other Order of the *Romiſh* Church; for their Clothing ought to be courſe ſackcloth, their girdles made of hemp ſhould be no finer then ſtrong halters, their ſhirts ſhould be but woollen, their legs ſhould know no ſtockins, their feet nó ſhoes, but at the moſt and beſt either wooden clogs, or ſandals of hemp, their hands and fingers ſhould not ſo much as touch any money, nor they have the uſe or poſſeſſion or propriety of any, nor their journeys be made eaſie with the help of Horſes to carry them; but painfully they ought to travail on foot; and the breach of any of theſe they acknowledge to be a deadly and mortall ſin, with the guilt of a high ſoul-damning and ſoul-curſing excommunication. Yet for all theſe bonds and obligations, thoſe wretched Impes live in thoſe parts as though they had never vowed unto the Lord, ſhewing in their lives that they have vowed what they are not able to performe. It was to us a ſtrange and ſcandalous ſight to ſee here in *Xalappa* a Fryer of the Cloiſter riding with his lackey boy by his ſide, upon a goodly gelding, (having gone but to the Townes end, as we were informed, to hear a dying mans confeſſion) with his long habit tucked up to his girdle, making ſhew of a fine ſilke orange colour ſtockin upon his legs, and a neat Cordovan ſhoe upon his foot, with a fine holland pair of drawers, with a lace three inches broad at knee. This ſight made us willing to pry further into this and the other Fryers carriages, under whoſe broad ſleeves we could perceive their doublets quilted with ſilke, and at their wriſts the laces of their holland ſhirts. In their talke we could diſcern no mortification, but meer vanity and worldlineſſe. After ſupper ſome of them began to talk of carding and dicing; they challenged us that were but new comers to thoſe parts, to a Primera; which though moſt of ours refuſed, ſome for want of money, ſome for ignorance of that game, yet at laſt with much ado they got two of our Fryers to joyn with two of theirs; ſo the cards were handſomely ſhuffled, the vies and revies were doubled, loſſe made ſome hot and blinde with paſſion, gain made others eager and covetous; and thus was that religious Cloiſter made all night a gaming houſe, and ſworne religious poverty turned into profane and worldly Covetouſneſſe. We that beheld ſome part of the night the game, found enough to obſerve, for the more the ſport increaſed, ſcandals to the ſport were added, both by drinking and ſwearing that common oath *Voto a Chriſto*, *Voto a Dios*, and alſo by ſcoffing and jearing at the religious vowes of poverty which they had vowed; for one of the Franciſcans though formerly he had touched money, and with his fingers had laid it to the ſtake on the table; yet ſometimes to make the company laugh, if he had chanced to winne a double vie (and ſometimes the vies and revies went round of twenty Patacons) then would he take the end of one ſleeve of his habit, and open wide the other broad ſleeve, and ſo with his ſleeve ſweep the money into his other ſleeve, ſaying, I have vowed not to touch money, nor to keep any, I meaned then a naturall contact of it; but my ſleeve may touch it, and my ſleeve may keep it: ſhewing with ſcoffes and jeſts of his lips, what religion was in his heart. My eares tingled with hearing

hearing ſuch oathes, my tongue would have uttered ſome words of reproof, but that I conſidered my ſelf a gueſt and ſtranger in a ſtrange houſe, and that if any thing I ſhould ſay, it would do no good; ſo ſilently I departed to my reſt, leaving the Gameſters, who continued till ſun-riſing, and in the morning I was informed that the jeſting Fryer, that rather roaring Boy then religious Franciſcan, fitter for *Sardanapalus* or *Epicurus* his Schoole, then to live in a Cloiſter, had loſt fourſcore and odde Patacons, his ſleeve (it ſeemes) refuſing to keep for him what he had vowed never to poſſeſſe. Here I began to find out by experience of theſe Franciſcans, that liberty and looſneſſe of life it was that brought yearly ſo many Fryers and Jeſuites from *Spain* to thoſe parts, rather then zeal of Preaching the Goſpel and Converting Soules to Chriſt, which indeed being an act of higheſt Charity, they make a ſpeciall badge of the truth of their Religion: But the looſneſſe of their lives ſheweth evidently that the love of money, of vain-glory, of Power and Authority over the poor *Indians*, is their end and aime more then any love of God. From *Xalappa* we went to a place called by the *Spaniards*, *La Rinconada*, which is no Town nor Village, and therefore not worth mentioning in ſuch a Rode as now I am in; yet as famous in two things, it muſt not be omitted amongſt greater places. This place ſtands ſo far from any other Town, that Travellers can ſcarce make their journeys without either baiting there at noon, or lying there at night, or declining three or four miles out of the Rode to ſome *Indian* Town. It is no more then one houſe, which the *Spaniards* call *Venta*, or as our *Engliſh*, Innes, ſeated in the corner of a low Valley, which is the hotteſt place from St. *John de Ulhua* to *Mexico*; about it are the beſt Springs and Fountains in all the Rode, and the water though warme with the heat of the Sun, yet as ſweet as any Milk. The Inne-keepers knowing well the *Spaniards* heat, that it ſeeks cool and refreſhing drink, have ſpeciall care ſo to lay in water in great earthen Veſſels, which they ſet upon a moiſt and wateriſh Sand, that it is ſo cold that it maketh the teeth to chatter. This ſweetneſſe and this coolneſſe together of that water in ſo hot and ſcorching a Country, was to us a wonder, who could find no other refreſhment from that extraordinary heat. Beſides our Proviſion here of Beef, Mutton, Kid, Hens, Turkeys, Rabbets, Fowles, and eſpecially Quailes, was ſo plentifull and cheape, that we were aſtoniſhed at it. The Valley and Country about it is very rich and fertile, full of *Spaniſh* Farmes of Sugar, and *Cochinil*, *Spaniſh* and *Indian* Wheate. But what maketh me more eſpecially remember this *Venta*, or Inne, is, for that though Art and experience of man have found a way to provide for Travellers in ſo hot a place cool and refreſhing water, and God have given it the ſweetneſſe of Milk, and to the place ſuch abundance of Proviſion; yet all this in the day only is comfortable and pleaſant; but in the night the *Spaniards* call it, *Cumfites en infierno*, that is to ſay, Cumfits in hell, for not only the heat is ſo extraordinary, that it is impoſſible to be feeding without wiping away the continuall ſweat of the Face, whoſe drops from the Browes are alwayes ready to blind our eyes and to fill with ſauce our diſhes, but the ſwarmes of Gnats are ſuch that waking and ſleeping no device of man is able to keep them off. True it is, moſt of us had our Pavilions which we carried with us to hang about and over our beds, but theſe could not defend us from that piercing and ſtinging Vermine, which likes *Egypts* Plague of Frogs would be ſure to be in every place, and through our Curtains to come upon our very Beds. Yet in the day they are not; but juſt at Sun-ſetting they begin to ſwarme about, and at Sun-riſing away they goe. After a moſt tedious and troubleſome night, when we found the riſing of the Sun had diſperſed and baniſhed them away, we thought it beſt for us to flee away from that place with them; and ſo from thence early we departed to a Town as pleaſant and fertill and abounding with Proviſion as this *Rinconada*, and free from ſuch buſie gueſts and individuall Mates and Companions as the night before had intruded themſelves upon us. The next night we got to a Town called *Segura*, inhabited both by *Indians* and *Spaniards*, conſiſting of about a thouſand Inhabitans; here again without any charges we were ſtately entertained by Franciſcan Fryers, as light and vain glorious as thoſe of *Xalappa*. This Town had its firſt beginning and foundation from *Hernando Cortez*, and is called *Segura de la Frontera*, being built up by him for a Frontier Town to ſecure the *Spaniards* that came from St. *John de Ulhua* to *Mexico*, againſt the *Culhuacans* and people of *Tepeacac*, who were allied to the *Mexicans*, and ſo much annoyed the *Spaniards*. But what moſt incenſed *Cortez* was, that after his firſt repulſe from *Mexico*, the *Indians* inſulting over him and the reſt of his Company, whom they heard had

been dangerously wounded, and were retired to *Tlaxcallan* to recover and strengthen themselves; the two Towns, *Culhua* and *Tepeacac*, then in League with the *Mexicans* against *Cortez* and the Town of *Tlaxcallan*, lying in wait for the *Spaniards*, took twelve of them, and sacrificed them alive to their Idols and eat their flesh. Whereupon *Cortez* desired *Maxixca*, a chief Captain of *Tlaxcallan*, and divers other Gentlemen of that Town to goe with him and to help him to be avenged of the people of *Tepeacac* for the cruelty used to twelve of his *Spaniards*, and for the dayly and great hurt they also did to the Inhabitants of *Tlaxcallan* with the help of their allied friends the *Culhuacans* and *Mexicans*. *Maxixca* and the chief of *Tlaxcallan* forthwith entred into counsell with the States and Communalty of the Town, and there determined with generall consent to give unto him forty thousand fighting men, besides many *Tamemez*, who are foot Carriers, to bear the Baggage, Victuall, and other things. With this number of *Tlaxcalteca's*, his own men, and horses, *Cortez* went to *Tepeacac*, requiring them in satisfaction of the death of the twelve Christians, that they should now yeeld themselves to the obedience of the Emperour and King of *Spain* his Master, and hereafter never more to receive any *Mexican* into their Town or houses, neither yet any of the Province of *Culhua*. The *Tepeacacs* answered that they had slain the *Spaniards* for good and just cause, which was that being time of War, they presumed to passe through their Country by force without their will and license. And also that the *Mexicans* and *Culhuacans* were their friends and Lords, whom alwayes they would friendly entertain within their Town and houses, refusing utterly their offer and request, potesting to give no obedience to whom they knew not, wishing them therefore to return incontinent to *Tlaxcallan*, except they had desire to end their weary dayes, and to be sacrificed and eaten up as their twelve friends had been. *Cortez* yet invited them many times with peace; and seeing it prevailed not, he began his Wars in earnest. The *Tepeacacs* with the favour of the *Culhuacans* were brave and lusty, and began to stop and defend the *Spaniards* entrance into their Town. And being many in number with divers valiant men among them, began to skirmish sundry times; but at the end they were overthrown, and many slain without killing any *Spaniard*, although many *Tlaxcalteca's* were killed that day. The Lords and principall Persons of *Tepeacac* seeing their overthrow, and that their strength could not prevail, yeelded themselves unto *Cortez* for Vassals of the Emperour with condition to banish for ever their allied friends of *Culhua*; and that he should punish and correct at his will and pleasure all those which were occasion of the death of the twelve *Spaniards*. For which causes and obstinacy, at the first *Cortez* judged by his sentence that all the Towns which had been privy to the murther, should for ever remain Captives and slaves; others affirm that he overcame them without any condition, and corrected them for their disobedience, being Sodomites, Idolaters and eaters of mans flesh, and chiefly for example of all others. And in conclusion, they were condemned for slaves; and within twenty days that these Wars lasted, he pacified all that Province, which is very great, he drave from thence the *Culhuacans*, he threw down the Idols, and the chiefest persons obeyed him. And for more assurance he built there this Town, naming it *Segura de la Frontera*, appointing all Officers for the purpose, whereby the Christians and strangers might passe without danger from *Vera Crux* to *Mexico*. This Town likewise, as all the rest from St. *John de Ulhua* to *Mexico*, is very plentifull of provision, and many sorts of fruits, namely Plantins, *Sapottes*, and *Chicosapottes*, which have within a great black kernell as big as our horse Plum, the fruit it self is as red within as Scarlet, as sweet as Honey; but the *Chicosapotte*, is lesse, and some of them red, some brown coloured, and so juicy that at the eating the juice like drops of honey fall from them, and the smell is like unto a baked Pear. Here likewise were presented unto us Clusters of Grapes as fair as any in *Spain*, which were welcome unto us, for that we had seen none since we came from *Spain*, and we saw by them that the Country thereabouts would be very fit for Vineyards, if the King of *Spain* would grant the planting of Vines in those parts; which often he hath refused to do, lest the Vineyards there should hinder the Trading and Trafique between *Spain* and those parts, which certainly had they but Wine, needed not any commerce with *Spain*. This Town is of a more temperate Climate then any other from *Vera Crux* to *Mexico*, and the people who formerly had been eaters of Mans flesh, now as civill and politick, as loving and curteous as a-

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any in the rode. From whence we declined a little out of our way more Westward (the rode being North-westward) only to see that famous Town of *Tlaxcallan*, whose inhabitants joyned with *Cortez*, and we may say were the chief instruments of that great and unparalleld Conquest.

Chap. X.

Wherein is set down the estate and condition of the great Town of Tlaxcallan, *when the first* Spaniards *entred the Empire of* Mexico; Cortez *his first encounter with the* Tlaxcalteca's *their league with him, with a description of the Town; and of the estate and condition of it now.*

Tlaxcallan being worth all the rest of the Towns and Villages between St. *John de Ulhua* and *Mexico*; I thought it not fit to parallel it with the others in naming it briefly and passing by it as a Traveller; but rather I judged it convenient, and beseeming my present History, to record to posterity with one whole Chapter, the greatnesse of it, and the valour of its inhabitants, from the conquest of *America* made by *Hernando Cortez*. Who being upon his march to *Mexico*, and having arrived to *Zaclotan*, and being informed that the *Tlaxcalteca's* were men of valour, and enemies to *Montezuma* the Emperour of *Mexico*, thought it his best policy to joyne with them against the *Mexicans*.

Whereupon he dispatched unto them four *Indians* of a Town called *Zempoallan*, as Ambassadours to acquaint them of his coming into those parts, and of his desire to visit their Town, not for any harm he intended to them, but rather for their good. The *Tlaxcalteca's* fearing *Cortez*, and judging him a friend of *Montezuma*, because upon his way to visite him; and having heard of the many costly presents which the Emperour had sent unto him; they resolved to resist his coming, and to send him no answer to his ambassage; but took the four Messengers which he had sent, and imprisoned them, minding to sacrifice them unto their Gods as Espies. *Cortez* seeing the long tarrying of the Messengers, departed from *Zaclotan*, without any intelligence from *Tlaxcallan*. His Camp had not marched much after their departure from that place, but they came to a great circuit of stone made without lime or morter, being of a fadome and a half high, and twenty foot broad, with loupe holes to shoot at; this wall crossed over a whole valley, from one mountain to another, and but one only entrance or gate, in the which the one wall doubled against the other, and the way there was fourty paces broad, in such sort that it was an evill and perillous passage, if any had been there to defend it. *Cortez* demanded the cause of that circuit, and who had built it; the *Indians* that went with him, told him that it was but a division from their Countrey and *Tlaxcallan*, and that their Antecessors had made the same to disturbe the entrance of the *Tlaxcalteca's* in time of War, who came to rob and murther them because of the friendship betwixt them and *Montezuma*, whose vassals they were. That strange and costly wall seemed a thing of great majesty to the *Spaniards*, and more superfluous then profitable, yet they suspected that the *Tlaxcalteca's* were valiant Warriers, who had such defence made against them. But *Cortez* setting all fear aside, with three hundred Souldiers on a rank, entred the way in the wall, and proceeded in good order all the way forwards, carrying the Ordinance ready charged, and he himself the Leader of all his Army, and sometimes he would be half a league before them, to discover and make the way plain. And having gone the space of three leagues from that circuit, he commanded his Foot-men to make haste, because it was somewhat late, and he with his Horse-men went to descry the way forwards, who ascending up a hill, two of the formost Horse-men met with fifteen *Indians* armed with swords, and targets, and tusses of feathers, which they used to wear in the Warres. These fifteen being Spies, when they saw the Horse-men, began to flie with fear, or else to give advice. But *Cortez* approching with other three Horse-men called to them to stay; which they by no means would hearken unto; till six more Horsemen ran after them, and overtook them. The *Indians* then joyning all together with determination rather to die then to yeeld, shewed to the *Spaniards* signes to stand still. But the Horse-men coming to

lay hands on them; they prepared themselves to battel, and fought, defending themselves for a while. In this fight the *Indians* slew two of their Horses, and (as the *Spaniards* do witnesse) at two blowes they cut off a Horse head, bridle and all. Then came the rest of the Horsemen, the Army also of the *Indians* approached, for there were in sight near five thousand of them in good order, to succour their fifteen fighting men; but they came too late for that purpose, for they were all slain by the *Spanish* fury, because they would not render themselves in time, and had killed two of their Horses. Yet notwithstanding their fellowes fought, untill they espied the *Spanish* Army coming, and the Ordinance, then they returned leaving the field to the *Spaniards*, whose Horse-men followed them, and slew about seventy of them, without receiving any hurt. With this the *Indians* perceiving the great advantage which the *Spaniards* had against them with their Horses, and meaning to come upon them subtilly with a more powerfull Army, that they might the better deceive and delude them, they sent unto *Cortez* two of the four Messengers which had been sent unto them with other *Indians*, saying, that they of *Tlaxcallan* knew nothing of the things that had happened, certifying likewise that those with whom he had fought, were of other communities, and not of their jurisdiction, being sorrowfull for that which had passed, and for so much as it happened in their journey, they would willingly pay for the two Horses which were slain, praying them to come in good time to their Town, who would gladly receive them, and enter into their league of friendship, because they seemed to be valiant men; But all this was a feigned and a false message. Yet *Cortez* beleeved them, and gave them thanks for their courtesie and good will; and that according to their requeſt he would goe unto their Town, and accept their friendship. And touching the death of his Horses, he required nothing, for that within short time he expected many more; yet sorrowfull he was, not so much for the want of them, as that the *Indians* should thinke that Horses could die or be slain. *Cortez* proceeded forwards about two leagues, where the Horses were killed, although it was almost sun-set, and his men wearied, having travelled far that day. He planted his Army by a river side, remaining all that night with good watch both of Foot-men and Horse-men, fearing some assault; but there was no attempt given that night. The next morning at sun rising, *Cortez* departed with his Army in good order, and in the midst of them went the Fardage and Artillery, and after a little marching they met with the other two Messengers whom they had sent from *Zaclotan*; they came with pitifull cries exclaiming of the Captains of the power of *Tlaxcallan*, who had bound them and detained them from returning; but with good fortune that night they had broken loose, and escaped, for otherwise in the morning following they had been sacrificed to the God of victory, and after the sacrifice they had been eaten for a good beginning of the Wars; the *Tlaxcalteca's* protesting to doe the like to the bearded men (for so they termed the *Spaniards*) and to as many as came with them. They had no sooner told their tale, when there appeared behind a little hill about a thousand *Indians*, very well appointed after their fashion, and came with such a marvellous noise and cry, as though their voices should have pierced the heavens; hurling at the *Spaniards*, stones, darts, and shot with bowes and arrowes. *Cortez* made many tokens of peace unto them, and by his Interpreters desired them to leave the battail. But so much the more as he intreated for peace, the more hasty and earnest were they, thinking either to overcome them, or else to hold them play, to the intent that the *Spaniards* should follow them to a certain ambush that was prepared for them, of more then fourscore thousand men. Here the *Spaniards* began to cease from words, and to lay hand upon their weapons; for that company of a thousand were as many as on the *Spaniards* side were fighting men; though they were well practised in the Wars, very valiant, and also pitched in a better place for fight. This battail endured certain houres, and at the end the *Indians* being either wearied, or else meaning to take the *Spainiards* in the snare appointed, began to flie towards the main battail, not as overcome, but to joyne with their own side. The *Spaniards* being hot in the fight and slaughter, which was not little, followed them with all their fardage, and unawares fell into the ambush, among an infinite number of *Indians* armed; they stayed not, because they would not put themselves out of order, and passed through their campe with great hast and fear. The *Indians* began to set upon the *Spanish* Horsemen, thinking to have taken their lances from them, their courage was so stout; many of the *Spaniards* had there perished, had it not been for their *Indian* friends, who had

had come with them from *Zempoallan* and *Zaclotan*. Likewise the courage of *Cortez* did much animate them; for although he led his Army making way, yet divers times he turned him back to place his men in order, and to comfort them, and at length came out of that dangerous way and ambush, where the Horses might help, and the Ordinance stand in stead, which two things did greatly annoy the *Indians* to their great wonder and marvell, and at the sight thereof began to flie. In both incounters remained many *Indians* slain and wounded, and of the *Spaniards* some were hurt, but none killed, who gave most hearty thanks unto God for their delivery from so great a multitude as were fourscore thousand, against one thousand only of *Indians* and *Spaniards* joyned together. The *Indians* of *Zempoallan* and *Zaclotan* did play the valiant men that day, wherefore *Cortez* honored them with hearty thanks. Then they went to pitch their Campe in a village called *Teoacazinco*, where was a little Tower and a Temple, and there fortified themselves. The night following the *Spaniards* slept not quietly with fear of a third Invasion of the *Tlaxcalteca's*. As soon as it was day *Cortez* sent to the Captains of *Tlaxcallan* to require them of peace and friendship, willing them quietly to suffer them to passe through their Country to *Mexico*, for that they meant them no hurt, but rather good will. The answer of the Captains of *Tlaxcallan* was, that the next day they would come and talke with him and declare their minds. *Cortez* was well prepared that night, for the answer liked him not, but rather seemed brave, and a matter determined to be done, as some had told him (whom he took prisoners) who likewise certified that the *Tlaxcalteca's* were joyned together to the number of a hundred and fifty thousand men to give battail the next day following, and to swallow up alive the *Spaniards* whom so mortally they did hate, thinking them to be friends unto the Emperour *Montezuma*, unto whom they wished all evill and mischief. Their intent was therefore with all their whole power to apprehend the bearded men, and to make of them a more solemn Sacrifice unto their Gods then at any time they had done, with a generall banquet of their flesh, which they called *Celestiall*.

The Captains of *Tlaxcallan* divided their Souldiers into four Battails, the one to *Tepeticpac*, another to *Ocotelulco*, the third to *Tizatlan*, and the fourth to *Quiahuiztlan*, that is to say, the men of the Mountains, the men of the Limepits, the men of the Pinetrees, and the Watermen; all these four sorts of men did make the Body of the Common-wealth of *Tlaxcallan*, and commanded both in time of War and Peace. Every of these Captains had his just portion or number of Warriers, but the Generall of all the whole Army was called *Xicotencal*, who was of the Limepits; and he had the Standard of the Common-wealth, which is a Crane of gold with his wings spread, adorned with Emeralds and silver work, which Standard was according to their use either carried before the whole Host, or else behind them all. The Lieutenant Generall of the Army was *Maxixcazin*; and the number of the whole Army was a hundred and fifty thousand men. Such a great number they had ready against four hundred *Spaniards*, and seven hundred *Indians* of *Zempoallan* and *Zaclotan*, and yet at length overcome; and after this fight they were the greatest friends that *Cortez* had in those parts against *Montezuma*. These Captains came with their Companies, that the fields where they were seemed a Forrest. They were gallant fellowes and well Armed according to their use, although they were painted, so that their faces shewed like Devils, with great tuffes of Feathers, and they boasted gallantly. Their Weapons and Armor were Slings, Staves, Speares, Swords, Bowes and Arrowes, Sculles, Splintes, Gantlets, all of Wood, guilt or else covered with Feathers or Leather; their Corselets were made of Cotten Wool, their Targets and Bucklers gallant and strong, made of Wood covered with Leather, and trimmed with Latten, and feathers, their Swords were staves with an edge of flint stone cunningly joyned into the staffe, which would cut very well and make a sore wound. Their instruments of War were hunters hornes, and Drummes called *Ataballs* made like a Caldron and covered with Vellam. So that the *Spaniards* in all their discovery of *India* did never see a better Army together, nor better ordered; that which I could not omit to speak of here, having come in the order of my history to *Tlaxcallan*, where this numerous and gallant *Indian* Army was set forth against 400 *Spaniards* and 600 *Indians* their friends. These *Indians* thus ordered in Battalia bragged very much against the *Spaniards*, and said amongst themselves, What mad people are these bearded men that threaten us, and yet know us not? But if they will be so bold to invade

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our Country without our licence, let us not set upon them so soon; it is meet they have a little rest, for we have time enough to take and bind them; let us also send them meat, for they are come with empty stomachs, and so they shall not say that we do apprehend them with wearinesse and hunger. Whereupon they sent unto the *Spaniards* three hundred Turkey-cocks and two hundred baskets of bread, called *Centli*; the which present was a great succour and refreshment for the need the *Spaniards* stood in. And soon after, Now (say they) let us go and set upon them, for by this time they have eaten their meat, and now we will eat them, and so shall they pay us the victuals that we sent. These and such like brags they used, seeing so few *Spaniards* before them, and not knowing the strength of their Ordinance against their so numerous an Host. Then the four Captains sent two thousand of their valianteſt men of War, and old Souldiers, to take the *Spaniards* quietly, with commandement that if they did resist either to binde them, or else to kill them, meaning not to set their whole Army upon them, saying, that they should get but small honour for so great a multitude to fight against so few. The two thousand Souldiers passed the trench that was betwixt the two Campes, and came boldly to the Tower where the *Spaniards* were. Then came forth the Horse-men, and after them the Foot-men, and at the first encounter, they made the *Indians* feel how the Iron swords would cut; at the second, they shewed of what force those few in number were, of whom a little before they had so jested; but at the third brunt, they made those lusty Souldiers flie, who were come to apprehend them, for none of them escaped, but only a few such as knew the passage of the trenches or ditch. Then the main Battail and whole Army set forth with a terrible and marvellous noise, and came so fierce upon the *Spaniards*, till they entred into their Campe without any resistance, and there were at handy strokes with the *Spaniards*, and in a good space could not get them out, many of them being killed, which were so bold to enter. In this sort they fought four houres, before they could make way among their enemies. Then the *Indians* begn to faint, seeing so many dead on their side, and the great wounds they had, and that they could kill none of the Christians; yet the battail ceased not, till it drew near night, and then they retired. Whereof *Cortez* and his Souldiers were exceeding glad, for they were fully wearyed with killing of *Indians*. The next day in the morning *Cortez* went forth to run the fields as he had done before, leaviug half his men to keep the Campe; and because he should not be espied, he departed before day, and burned about ten Towns, and sacked one Town, which was of three thousand houses, in the which were found but few people, because the most of them were gone to their Campe. After the spoile he set fire on the Town, and came his way to his Campe with a great prey by noon-time. The *Indians* persued thinking to take away their prey, and followed them into the Campe, where they fought five houres, and could not kill one *Spaniard*, although many of their side were slain; for even as they were many, and stood on a throng together, the Ordinance made a wonderfull spoil among them, so that they left off fighting, and the victory remained for the *Spaniards*, whom the *Indians* thought were inchanted, because their Arrowes could not hurt them. The next day following, the four Captains sent three severall things in present to *Cortez*, and the messengers that brought them said, Sir, behold here five slaves, and if thou be that rigorous God, that eatest mans flesh and bloud, eat these which we bring unto thee, and we will bring thee more. And if thou be the gentle and meek God, behold here frankincense and feathers. And if thou be a mortall man, take here fowle, bread and cherries. *Cortez* answered, that both he and his were mortall men even as they were. And because that alwayes he had used to tell them truth, wherefore did they use to tell him lies, and likewise to flatter him? for he desired to be their friend, advising them not to be mad and stubborn in their opinion, for if they so did, assuredly they should receive great hurt and dammage.

Notwithstanding this answer, there came again about thirty thousand of them even to *Cortez* his Campe, to prove their corslets, as they had done the day before, but they returned with broken pates. Here is to be noted, that although the first day the whole Host of *Indians* came to combate with the *Spaniards*; yet the next day they did not so, but every severall Captain by himself, for to divide the better the travail and pains equally among them; and because that one should not disturbe another through the multitude, considering that they should fight but with a few, and in a narrow place; and for this consideration their battails were more fresh and strong, for

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each Captain did contend who ſhould do moſt valiantly for to get honour, and eſpecially in killing one *Spaniard*, for they thought that all their hurts ſhould be ſatisfied with the death of one *Spaniard*, or taking one priſoner. Likewiſe is to be conſidered the ſtrangeneſſe of their battail, for notwithſtanding their controverſie fifteen days that they were there, whether they fought or no, they ſent unto the *Spaniards* cakes of bread, Turkey cocks and cherries. But this policy was not to give them that meat for good will, but only to eſpie and ſee what hurt was done amongſt them, and alſo to ſee what fear or ſtomach they had to proceed. But finding by their many ſpies that the *Spaniards* were nothing daunted nor diminiſhed, they reſolved to ſend unto *Cortez* *Xicotencatl*, who was chief and generall Captain in *Tlaxcallan*, and of all the Warres; he brought in his company fifty perſons of authority to keep him company. They approached near where *Cortez* was, and ſaluted each other according to the uſe of their country. Their ſalutations ended, and the parties being ſet down; *Xicotencatl* began the talke, ſaying, Sir, I am come on my own behalf and alſo of my fellow Captain and Lieutenant *Maxixca*, and in the name of many other noble perſonages, and finally in the name of the whole State and Common-wealth of *Tlaxcallan*, to beſeech and pray you to admit us into your friendſhip, and to yeeld our ſelves and Countrey unto your King, craving alſo at your hand pardon for our attempt in taking up armes againſt you, we not knowing what you were, nor what you ſought for in our Countrey. And where we preſumed to reſiſt and defend your entrance, we did it as againſt ſtrangers whom we knew not, and ſuch men as we had never heretofore ſeen; and fearing alſo that you had been friends to *Montezuma*, who is, and alwayes hath been our mortall enemy. And we had rather all in generall to end our lives, then to put our ſelves in ſubjection to him; for we think our ſelves as valiant men in courage as our fore-fathers were, who alwayes have reſiſted againſt him and his grand-father, who was as mighty as now is he. We would alſo have withſtood you and your force, but we could not, although we proved all our poſſibility by night and day, and found your ſtrength invincible, and we no lucke againſt you. Therefore ſince our fate is ſuch, we had rather be ſubject unto you then unto any others; for we have known and heard of the *Zempoallanezes*, that you do no evill, nor came not to vexe any, but were moſt valiant and happy, as they have ſeen in the Warres, being in your company. For which conſideration, we truſt that our liberty ſhall not be diminiſhed, but rather our own perſons, wives and families better preſerved, and our houſes and husbandry not deſtroyed. And in ſome of his talke, the tears trickling down his cheeks, he beſought *Cortez* to weigh that *Tlaxcallan* did never at any time acknowledge any ſuperiour Lord or King, nor at any time had come any perſon among them to command, but only he, whom now they did voluntarily elect and chooſe as their Superiour and Ruler. *Cortez* much rejoyced with this ambaſſage, and to ſee ſuch a mighty Captain, who commanded a hundred and fifty thouſand Souldiers, come unto his Campe to ſubmit himſelf; judging it alſo matter of great weight to have that Common-wealth in ſubjection, for the enterpriſe which he had in hand, whereby he fully made an account, that the Wars were at an end, to the great contentation of him and his company, and with great fame and reputation among the *Indians*. So with a merry and loving countenance he anſwered, laying firſt to their charge, the hurt and damage which he had received in their Country, becauſe they refuſed at the firſt to hearken unto him, and quietly to ſuffer him to enter into their Countrey, as he had required and deſired by his meſſengers ſent unto them from *Zaclotan*. Yet all this notwithſtanding he did both pardon the killing of his two Horſes, the aſſaulting of him in the high way, and the lies which they had moſt craftily uſed with him, (for whereas they themſelves fought againſt him, yet they laid the fault to others) likewiſe their pretence to murther him in the ambuſh prepared for him (enticing him to come to their Town) without making firſt defiance according to the law of Arms. Yet theſe injuries notwithſtanding, he did lovingly receive their offer made in ſubjection to the Emperour, and that very ſhortly he would be with him in *Tlaxcallan*. At this ſame time there were Ambaſſadours from *Montezuma* with *Cortez*, who grieved much to ſee the League that was now beginning between the *Tlaxcalteca's* and the *Spaniards*; they adviſed *Cortez* to give no credit unto them, ſaying they meant nothing but treaſon, and lies, and to lock them up in *Tlaxcallan*. *Cortez* anſwered the Ambaſſadours, that although their advice were true, yet he did determine to go thither, for that he feared them leſſe in the Town then in

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the field. They hearing this anſwer and determination, beſought him to give unto one of them licence to return unto *Mexico*, to advertiſe *Montezuma* of all that was paſt, with an anſwer to their ambaſſage, promiſing within ſix dayes to have newes from *Mexico*, and till then prayed him not to depart with his Campe. *Cortez* granted their requeſt, and abode there the time appointed, expecting their anſwer, and within himſelf rejoycing to ſee how the *Mexicans* began to fear, that his peace with the *Tlaxcalteca's* would be their ruine and deſtruction, as indeed afterwards it proved. In this mean ſeaſon came many of *Tlaxcallan* to the Campe, ſome brought Turkey cockes, other brought bread and cherries, with merry countenances, deſiring them to goe home with them unto their houſes. The ſixt day the *Mexican* Ambaſſadour came according to promiſe, and brought unto *Cortez* ten jewels of gold, both rich and well wrought, and fifteen thouſand garments of Cotten exceeding gallant, and moſt earneſtly beſought him on the behalf of *Montezuma*, that he ſhould not danger himſelf in truſting to the words of the *Tlaxcalteca's*, who were ſo poor that with neceſſity they would rob him of the things and preſents which his Maſter had ſent him, yea and likewiſe murther him, knowing of the friendſhip between his Maſter and him. At the very ſame time all the chiefeſt Lords of *Tlaxcallan* came to intreat him to goe with them to *Tlaxcallan*, where he ſhould be cheriſhed, lodged and well provided: for it was a great diſhonour and ſhame unto them to permit ſuch perſonages to abide in ſuch vile cottages, as they were in. And if (ſaid they) you truſt us not, then we are ready to give you for your ſecurity whatſoever pledges or gages you ſhall demand. And they did both ſwear and faithfully promiſe that they might ſafely go with them; ſaying alſo that the Oath and Faith of their Common-wealth ſhould never be broken for all the goods in the world. Thus was *Cortez* on both ſides earneſtly ſolicited, and intreated; the *Mexicans* fearing his League and friendſhip with the *Tlaxcalteca's*, and theſe hoping that his friendſhip with them, would be their chief protection againſt the tyranny of *Montezuma*. But *Cortez* aiming chiefly at the Empire of *Mexico*, which *Montezuma* his diſſembled friendſhip would never help him to enjoy; and ſeeing the good will of ſo many gentlemen his new friends of *Tlaxcallan*, the moſt mortall enemies of *Montezuma*, and likewiſe the *Indians* of *Zempoallan*, of whom he had good credit, did ſo importune him, and aſſure him of his going, he commanded his Fardage to be laden, and alſo his Ordinance, and departed toward *Tlaxcallan*, with as good order as it had been to a battail; and at the Tower where he had pitched his Camp, he left certain croſſes for a memory with a great heap of ſtones (which till this day remain in the place, and my ſelf have ſeen them) and entred into *Tlaxcallan* the eighteenth of *September*. There came out ſuch a multitude of people to ſee him and to meet him in the way, that it was a wonder to ſee. He was lodged in the greateſt Temple, which had many great and fair lodgings ſufficient for him and all his company, except the *Indians* of *Zempoallan* and *Zaclotan* his friends, who were lodged in other Temples. He ſet certain limits, out of the which he commanded ſtraitly that none of his company ſhould paſſe upon pain of death, and alſo commanded that they ſhould take nothing, but what ſhould be given them. His commandement was well obſerved, for none preſumed to goe a ſtones caſt without his licence. The *Indian* Gentlemen ſhewed great pleaſure and curteſie to the ſtrangers, and provided them of all things neceſſary, and many of them gave their daughters unto them in token of true friendſhip, and likewiſe to have fruit of their bodies, to be brought up for the Wars, being ſuch valiant men. *Cortez* being throughly ſatisfyed of their hearty good wils, demanded of them the eſtate and riches of *Montezuma*. They exalted him greatly as men that had proved his force, And as they affirmed it was near a hundred years, that they maintained Warres with him and his Father *Axaica*, and others his Uncles and Grand-fathers; they aſſured him alſo, that the gold and treaſure of *Montezuma* was without number, and his power and dominion over all the land, and his people innumerable; for (ſaid they) he joyneth ſometimes two hundred thouſand men, yea and three hundred thouſand for one battail. And if it pleaſed him, he would make as many men double, and thereof they were good witneſſe, becauſe they had many times fought with them. *Cortez* told them he was nothing diſcouraged at all that his power, but intended a journey to *Mexico*, not doubting to oppoſe *Montezuma*, if he ſhould encounter him in the way. He promiſed them likewiſe that he would free them from his tyranny, and ſubdue in his way all thoſe Townes which were allied to the *Mexi-*

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cans, and did any way annoy them and their Commonwealth. They gave him hearty thankes, assuring him to assist him and accompany him to *Mexico*; and for the present offered him twenty thousand men, making a solemne League and Covenant never to forsake him. Thus was *Tlaxcallan* subdued and sworne to the power and command of the *Spaniards*, being in those times one of the chiefest, though not richest, Towns of *America*; whose Inhabitans after clave most faithfully to *Cortez*, and were chief instruments for the subduing of *Mexico*; and therefore to this day are freed from tribute by the Kings of *Spain*, paying not the money which as a tribute tax is layed upon every *Indian* to be payed yearly, but only in acknowledgment of subjection they pay yearly one corne of *Maiz*, which is their *Indian* Wheat. This great Town of *Tlaxcallan* is properly in the *Indian* tongue as much as to say, as bread well baked, for there is more Grain called *Centli* gathered, then in all the Province round about. In times hast the Town was called *Texcallan*, that is to say, a Valley betwixt two hils. It is planted by a River side, which springeth out of a hill called *Atlancapetec*, and watereth the most part of the Province, and from thence issueth out into the South Sea, by *Zacatullan*. This Town hath four goodly streets, which are called *Tepeticpac*, *Ocotelulco*, *Tizatlan*, *Quiahuiztlan*. The first street standeth on high upon an hill, far from the River which may be about half a League, and because it standeth on a hill, it is called *Tepeticpac*, that is to say, a hill, and was the first population, which was founded there on high because of the Wars. An other street is situated on the hill side towards the River; because at the building thereof, there were many Pine trees, they named it *Ocotelulco*, which is to say, A pine apple plat. This street was beautifull, and most inhabited of all the Town, and there was the chiefest Market place, where all the buying and selling was used, and that place they called *Tianquiztli*; in that street was the dwelling house of *Maxixca*. Along the River side in the plain standeth another street called *Tizatlan*, because there is much Lime and Chalke. In this street dwelled *Xicotencatl*, Captain Generall of the whole Common-wealth. There is another street named by reason of the brackish water, *Quiahuiztlan*; but since the *Spaniards* came thither, all those buildings are almost altered, after a better fashion, and built with stone. In the plain by the river side standeth the Town house, and other Offices, as in the City of *Venice*. This *Tlaxcallan* was governed by Noble and rich men; they used not that one alone should rule, but did rather flie from that Government as from tyranny, and therefore hated *Montezuma* as a tyrant. In their Wars (as I have said before) they had four Captains, which governed each one street, of the which four they did elect a Captain Generall. Also there were other Gentlemen, that were Under-captains, but a small number. In the Wars they used their Standard to be carryed behind the Army, but when the battail was to be fought, they placed the Standard, where all the Hoste might see it, and he that came not incontinent to his Antient, payed a penalty. Their Standard had two Crosse-bow Arrowes set thereon, which they esteemed as the Reliques of their Ancestours. This Standard two old Souldiers and valiant men, being of the chiefest Captains, had the charge to carry, in the which an abuse of Soothsaying either of losse or victory was noted. In this order they shot one of these Arrowes against the first enemies as they met, and if with that Arrow they did either kill or hurt, it was a token that they should have the victory, and if it neither did kill nor hurt, then they assuredly believed that they should lose the field. This Province or Lordship of *Tlaxcallan* had 28 Villages and Towns, wherein were contained 150000 housholders. They are men well made, and were good Warriers, the like were not among the *Indians*. They are very poor, and have no other riches, but only the Grain and Corn called *Centli*, and with the gain and profit thereof, they do both clothe themselves, and provide all other necessaries. They have many Market places, but the greatest and most used dayly, standeth in the street of *Ocotelulco*, which formerly was so famous, that 20000 persons came thither in one day to buy and sell, changing one thing for another, for they knew not what money meaned. They have now and had formerly all kind of good policy in the Town; there are Goldsmiths, Feather-dressers, Barbers, hot houses, and Potters, who make as good earthen Vessels, as is made in *Spain*. The earth is fat and fruitfull for Corne, fruit and Pasture, for among the Pinetrees groweth so much grasse, that the *Spaniards* feed their Cattell there, which in *Spain* they cannot do. Within two Leagues of the Town standeth a round hill

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of six miles of height, and five and forty miles in compasse, and is now called St. *Bartholomews* hill, where the snow freezeth. In times past they called that hill *Matealcucie*, who was their God for water. They had also a God for Wine, who was named *Ometochtli*, for the great drunkenesse which they used. Their chiefest God was called *Camaxtle*; and by another name *Mixcovatl*, whose Temple stood in the street of *Ocotelulco*, in the which Temple there was sacrificed some years above eight hundred persons. In the Town they speak three languages, that is to say, *Nahualh*, which is the Courtly speech, and chiefest in all the Land of *Mexico*; another is called *Otomir*, which is most commonly used in the Villages; There is one only street that speaketh *Pinomer*, which is the grossest speech. There was also formerly in the Town a common Jayle, where Felons lay in Irons, and all things which they held for sin, were there corrected. At the time that *Cortez* was there, it happened that a townsman stole from a *Spaniard* a little gold; whereof *Cortez* complained to *Maxixca*, who incontinent made such enquiry, that the offender was found in *Chololla*, which is another great Town five Leagues from thence; they brought the Prisoner with the gold, and delivered him to *Cortez*, to do with him his pleasure. *Cortez* would not accept him, but gave him thanks for his diligence; then was he carryed with a cryer before him, manifesting his offence, and in the Market place upon a Scaffold they brake his joynts with a cudgell: the *Spaniards* marvelled to see such strange justice, and began to be more confident that as in this point they had endevoured to pleasure and right them, so likewise they should afterwards find them very forward to do their wils and pleasures for the better conquering of *Mexico* and *Montezuma*. *Ocotelulco* and *Tizatlan*, are the two streets which now are most inhabited; In *Ocotelulco* standeth a Cloister of Franciscan Fryers who are the Preachers of that Town; they have there joyning to their Cloister a very fair Church, to which belong some fifty *Indian* singers, Organists, players on Musicall Instruments, Trumpeters and Waits, who set out the Masse with a very sweet and harmonious Musick, and delight the fancy and senses, while the spirit is sad and dull, as little acquainted with God, who will be worshipped in spirit and in truth. In *Tepeticpac* and *Quiahuiztlan* are two Chappels only, to which on the Lords Day, and upon other occasions the Fryers of the Cloister resort to say Masse. In this Cloister we were entertained a day and two nights with great provision of Flesh and Fish, which is very pentifull by reason of the River; The Fryers are allowed by the Town a dozen *Indians* who are free from other services only to fish for the Fryers. They change their turns by Weeks, four one Week and four another, except they be called upon for some speciall occasion, and then they leave all other work, and attend only with fish upon the Fryers. The Town now is inhabited by *Spaniards* and *Indians* together; and is the seat of a chief Officer of Justice sent from *Spain* every three yeares, called *Alcalde Major*, whose power reacheth to all the Towns within twenty Leagues about. Besides him the *Indians* have likewise among themselves, *Alcaldes*, *Regidores* and *Alguaziles*, superiour and inferiour Officers of Justice appointed yearly by the *Alcalde Major*, who keeps them all in awe, and takes from them for his service as many as he pleaseth without paying any thing for the service done unto him. The hard usage of this *Alcalde Major* and other *Spaniards* hath much decayed that populous Town, which should rather have been cherished, then disheartned by the *Spaniards*, who by means of it gained all the rest of the Country.

Chap. XI.

Concluding the rest of our journey from Tlaxcallan *to* Mexico, *through the City of* Angels, *and* Guacocingo.

THE next place most remarkable in the Rode wherein we travelled was the City called by the *Spaniards*, *La Puebla de los Angeles*, the City of Angels. To the which we were desirous to goe, knowing that in it there was a Convent of Dominicans of our profession, not having met with any such since the day we departed from St. *John de Ulhua*. Here we refreshed our selves at leasure three days, finding our selves very welcome to our own Brethren, who spared nothing that was

was fit for our entertainment. We visited all the City, and took large notice of it, judging of the wealth and riches of it not only by the great Trading in it, but by the many Cloisters both of Nuns and Fryers, which it maintaineth, such being commonly very burthensome to the places where they live, an idle kind of beggers who make the people believe the maintaining of them is meritorious and saving to their Souls, and that their prayers for them is more worth then the means and sustenance which they receive from them. Of these there is in that City a very great Cloister of some fifty or threescore Dominicans, another of more Franciscans, another of Augustines, another of Mercenarians, another of discalced Carmelites, another of Jesuites, besides four of Nuns. This City is seated in a low and pleasant Valley, about ten leagues from a very high Mountain, which is alwayes covered with snow; It standeth twenty leagues from *Mexico*, it was first built and inhabited in the year 1530. by the command of *Don Antonio de Mendoza* Viceroy of *Mexico*, together with the consent of *Sebastian Ramirez* who was a Bishop, and had been President in time past in *Sto. Domingo*, and was that year in stead of *Nunnio de Guzman* (who had behaved himself very evill both with the *Indians* and *Spaniards*) sent to be President of the Chancery of *Mexico* with these other four Judges, the Licenciate *John de Salmeron, Gasco Quiroga, Francisco Ceynos*, and *Alonso Maldonado*. These Judges governed the land far better then *Nunnio de Guzman* before them had done; and among other remarkable things they did, was to cause this City to be inhabited; and set at liberty the *Indians* who inhabited there before, and were grievously suppressed and inslaved by the *Spaniards*, and therefore many of them departed from thence, who had inhabited there before, and went to seek their living at *Xalixco*, *Hunduras*, *Guatemala* and other places, where Warre then was. This City was formerly called by the *Indians Cuetlaxcoapan*, that is to say, a Snake in water; the reason was, because there are two Fountains, the one of evill water, and the other of good. This City is now a Bishops Sea, whose yearly Revenues since the cutting off from it *Xalappa de la Vera Crux*, are yet worth above twenty thousand Duckats; By reason of the good and wholesome aire it dayly increaseth with Inhabitants, who resort from many other places to live there; but especially the year 1634. when *Mexico* was like to be drowned with the inundation of the lake, thousands left it, and came with all their goods and Families to this City of the *Angels*, which now is thought to consist of ten thousand Inhabitants. That which maketh it most famous is the Cloth which is made in it, and is sent far and near, and judged now to be as good as the Cloth of *Segovia*, which is the best that is made in *Spain*, but now is not so much esteemed of, nor sent so much from *Spain* to *America* by reason of the abundance of fine Cloth which is made in this City of *Angels*. The Felts likewise that are made, are the best of all that Country; there is likewise a glasse house, which is there a rarity, none other being as yet known in those parts. But the mint house that is in it, where is coyned halfe the Silver that cometh from *Sacatecas*; makes it the second to *Mexico*; and it is thought that in time it will be as great and populous as *Mexico*. Without it there are many Gardens, which store the Markets with provision of Sallets; the soil abounds with Wheat, and with Sugar Farmes; among the which not far from this City there is one so great and populous (belonging to the Dominican Fryers of *Mexico*) that for the work only belonging unto it, it maintained in my time above two hundred blackmore slaves men and women besides their little children. The chief Town between this City of *Angels*, and *Mexico*, is called *Guacocingo* consisting of some five hundred *Indians*, and one hundred *Spaniards* Inhabitants. Here is likewise a Cloister of Franciscans, who entertained us gallantly, and made shew unto us of the dexterity of their *Indians* in Musick. Those fat Fryers wanted not like the rest all provision necessary for the body. But their greatest glory and boasting to us was the education which they had given to some children of the Town, especially such as served them in their Cloister, whom they had brought up to dancing after the *Spanish* fashion at the sound of the Guitarra. And this a dozen of them (the biggest not being above fourteen years of age) performed excellently for our better entertainment that night; we were there till midnight, singing both *Spanish* and *Indian* tunes, capering and dancing with their Castannettas, or knockers on their fingers, with such dexterity, as not only did delight, but amaze and astonish us. True it is, we thought those Franciscans might have been better imployed at that time in their Quire at their midnight

devotions according to their profeſſion; but we ſtill found vowed religious duties more and more neglected, and worldlineſſe too too much imbraced, by ſuch as had renounced and forſaken the world and all its pleaſures, ſports and paſtimes.

This Town of *Guacocingo* is almoſt as much as *Tlaxcallan* priviledged by the Kings of *Spain*; for that it joyned with *Tlaxcallan* againſt the *Mexicans*, in defence of *Hernando Cortez* and the reſt of the *Spaniards* that firſt conquered that land. Theſe of *Guacocingo* being confederate with the Inhabitants of *Tlaxcallan*, *Chololla*, and *Huacacolla* ſtrongly defended the inhabitants of *Chalco*, when they ſent to *Cortez* for ſuccor, declaring that the *Mexicans* made great ſpoil among them. Which ſuccour *Cortez* at that time not being able to ſend them; being buſied in ſending for his Vergantines to beſiege *Mexico* by water as well as by land, he remitted them to the helpe of the *Tlaxcalteca's*, and unto theſe of *Guacocingo*, *Chololla*, and *Huacacolla*; who ſhewed great valour as yet never buried in oblivion, in relieving *Chalco* againſt the ſtrength, and power of *Montezuma*, which had iſſued out of *Mexico*, to keep the *Spaniards* from drawing near unto that Cty. For that fact is this Town with the others fore-mentioned, untill this day priviledged and highly eſteemed of the *Spaniards*. From hence we made our laſt journey to the City of *Mexico*, paſſing over the ſide of that high hill which we had diſcovered at the City of *Angels*, ſome thirty miles off. There are no Alpes like unto it for height, cold, and conſtant ſnow that lyeth upon it. From *Spain* to that place we had not felt any ſuch extremity of cold, which made the *Spaniards* that had come out of the hot climate of *Spain*, and endured exceſſive heat at Sea, wonder and admire. This laſt journey from *Guacocingo* to *Mexico* we reckoned to be thirty *Engliſh* miles, and of the thirty miles we judged at leaſt the fifteen to be up and down the hill; and yet the top of it (whither we aſcended not) was far higher. From that higheſt part of it which we travailed over, we diſcovered the City of *Mexico*, and the lake about it, which ſeemed to us to be near at hand, ſtanding ſome ten *Engliſh* miles in a plain from the bottome of this mountain. When *Hernando Cortez* went the ſecond time from *Tlaxcallan* to *Mexico*, to beſiege it by land and by water, with Vergantines which for that purpoſe he had cauſed to be made, on the ſide of this mountain were his land Forces lodged, where many had periſhed with cold, had it not been for the ſtore of wood which they found there. But in the morning he aſcended upwards on this hill, and ſent his ſcout of four Foot-men and four Horſemen to diſcover, who found the way ſtopped with great trees newly cut down by the *Mexicans*, and placed croſſewiſe in the way. But they thinking that yet forwards it was not ſo, proceeded forth as well as they might, till at length the let with great huge Cedars was ſuch, that they could paſſe no further, and with this news were forced to return, certifying *Cortez* that the Horſe-men could not paſſe that way in any wiſe. *Cortez* demanded of them whether they had ſeen any people; they anſwered No. Whereupon he proceeded forward, with all the Horſe-men, and a thouſand Foot-men, commanding all the reſidue of his Army to follow him with as much ſpeed as might be; ſo that with that company which he carried with him, he made way, taking away the trees that were cut down to diſturbe his paſſage; and in this order in ſhort time paſſed his hoſt without any hurt or danger, but with great pain and travail; for certainly if the *Mexicans* had been there to defend that paſſage; the *Spaniards* had not paſſed; for it was then a very evill way (though now it be a reaſonable wide open rode, where Mules laden with wares from St. *John de Ulhua*, and the Sugar farmes daily paſſe) and the *Mexicans* alſo thought the ſame to be ſure with the trees which were croſſed the way, whereupon they were careleſſe of that place, and attended their coming in plain ground; for from *Tlaxcallan* to *Mexico* are three wayes, of the which *Cortez* choſe the worſt, imagining the thing that afterwards fell out, or elſe ſome had adviſed him how that way was clear from the enemies. At the deſcent of this hill *Cortez* abode and reſted himſelf, till all the whole Army were come together, to deſcend down into the plain; for from hence they deſcried the fires and beacons of their enemies in ſundry places, and all thoſe who had attended their coming by the other two wayes, were now gathered together, thinking to ſet upon them betwixt certain bridges (which are in the plain made for travellers by reaſon of the many dikes and currents of water which iſſue from the lake) where a great company abode expecting their coming. But *Cortez* ſent twenty Horſe-men who made way among them, and then followed the whole Army, who ſlew many of them without receiving any hurt. Thus did the remembrance of thoſe

antiqui-

antiquities newly refreſhed by the object of the hill and plain beneath, make that cold and hard paſſage more comfortable and eaſie unto us. The firſt Town we came to below the hill, was *Quahutipec*, of the juriſdiction of *Tezcuco*; where we alſo called to mind, that this was the place, near unto which was pitched the Campe of the *Indians* of *Culhua*, which was near a hundred thouſand men of Warre; who were ſent by the Seniours of *Mexico* and *Tezcuco* to encounter *Cortez*; but all in vain, for his Horſe-men broke through them, and his Artillerie made ſuch havock among them, that they were ſoon put to flight.

Three leagues from hence on our right hand as we travailed, we diſcovered *Tezcuco* by the ſide of the lake, and out of the Rode; yet it miniſtred unto us matter of a large diſcourſe, taken from the time of *Cortez* and the firſt Conquerers, who found it a great City, and at that time even as big as *Mexico*; though in it *Cortez* met with no reſiſtance; for as he journeyed towards it, four principall perſons inhabitants of it met with his forces, bearing a rod of gold with a little flag in token of peace, ſaying that *Coacuacoyocin* their Lord had ſent them to deſire him not to make any ſpoil in his City, and Towns about it; and likewiſe to offer his friendſhip, praying alſo that it might pleaſe him with his whole Army to take his lodging in the Town of *Tezcuco*, where he ſhould be well received. *Cortez* rejoycing at this meſſage, yet jealous of ſome treachery, and miſtruſting the people of *Tezcuco* (whoſe forces joyned with the *Mexicans* and *Culhuacans* he had met with a little before) went forward on his way and came to *Quahutichan* and *Huaxuta* (which then were ſuburbs of the great City *Tezcuco*, but now are petty Villages by themſelves) where he and all his hoſt were plenteouſly provided of all things neceſſary, and threw down the Idols. This done he entred into the City, where his lodging was prepared in a great houſe, ſufficient for him and all the *Spaniards*, with many other his *Indian* friends. And becauſe that at his firſt entry, he ſaw neither women nor children, he ſuſpected ſome treaſon, and forthwith proclaimed upon pain of death that none of his men ſhould goe out. In the evening the *Spaniards* went up into the Zoties and galleries to behold the City, and there they ſaw the great number of Citizens that fled from thence with their ſtuffe, ſome towards the mountaines, and others to the water ſide to take boat, a thing ſtrange to ſee the great haſte and ſtirre to provide for themſelves. There were at that time at leaſt twenty thouſand little boats (called *Canoas*) occupied in carrying houſhold-ſtuffe and paſſengers; *Cortez* would fain have remedied it, but the night was ſo nigh at hand, that he could not. He would gladly alſo have apprehended the Lord, but he was one of the firſt that fled unto *Mexico*. The Town of *Tezcuco* to this day is famous among the *Spaniards*; for that it was one of the firſt, if not the firſt (which according to the Hiſtories of thoſe parts is very probable) that received a Chriſtian King to rule and govern. For *Cortez* hearing that *Coacuacoyocin* then King of that City and Townes adjacent was fled, cauſed many of the Citizens to be called before him, and having in his company a young gentleman of a Noble houſe in that countrey, who had been lately chriſtened, and had to name *Hernando* (*Cortez* being his God-father, who loved him well) ſaid unto the Citizens, that this new Chriſtian Lord *Don Hernando* was ſonne unto *Nezavalpincintli* their loving Lord, wherefore he required them to make him their King, conſidering that *Coacuacoyocin* was fled unto the enemies, laying alſo before them his wicked fact in killing of *Cacuza* his own brother, only to put him from his inheritance and Kingdome, through the enticement of *Quahutimoccin* a mortall enemy to the *Spaniards*. In this ſort was that new Chriſtian *Don Hernando* elected King, and the fame thereof being blown abroad, many Citizens repaired home again to viſite their new Prince, ſo that in ſhort ſpace the City was as well repleniſhed with people as it was before, and being alſo well uſed at the *Spaniards* hands, they ſerved them diligently in all things that they were commanded. And *Don Hernando* abode ever after a faithfull friend unto the *Spaniards* in their Wars againſt *Mexico*, and in ſhort time learned the *Spaniſh* tongue. And ſoon after came the inhabitants of *Quahutichan*, *Huaxuta*, and *Autenco* to ſubmit themſelves, craving pardon if in any thing they had offended. Within two dayes after *Don Hernando* was made King of this great City and Territory belonging to it (whoſe borders reach unto the borders of *Tlaxcallan*) came certain gentlemen of *Huaxuta* and *Quahutichan*, to certifie unto him, how all the power of the *Mexicans* was coming towards them, and to know if it were his pleaſure, that they ſhould carry their wives, children and other goods into the

mountains, or elſe to bring them where he was, their fear was ſo great. *Cortez* for the King his God-child and favourite made unto them this anſwer, ſaying, Be ye of good courage, and fear ye not. Alſo I pray you to command your wives and families to make no alteration, but rather quietly to abide in your houſes. And concerning the enemies I am glad of their coming, for ye ſhall ſee how I will deal with them. But the enemies went not to *Huaxuta*, as it was thought; nevertheleſſe *Cortez* having intelligence where they were, went out to encounter them with two pieces of Ordinance, twelve Horſemen and two hundred *Spaniards*, and with many *Indians* of *Tlaxcallan*. He fought with the enemy, and ſlew but few, for they fled to the water, and ſo eſcaped in their *Canoa's*. Thus did *Cortez* in *Tezcuco* defend himſelf and friends from the great power of the *Mexicans*, who dayly attempted to be revenged on him, and the new Chriſtian King whom he had made. But *Cortez* thinking that place the moſt convenient to lanch his Vergantines to the water, and hearing that they were finiſhed at *Tlaxcallan*, ſent *Gonzalo de Sandoval* to bring them from *Tlaxcallan*; who at the border of that Province met with them being brought in pieces, as tables, planks and nayles, with all other furniture, the which eight thouſand men carried upon their backes. There came alſo for their conduct twenty thouſand men of War, and a thouſand *Tamemez*, who were the Carriers of victuals and ſervants. *Chichimecatecl*, a principall and valiant *Indian* and Captain of a thouſand men had the Rere-gard. And *Tupitil* and *Teutecatl*, very principall gentlemen, had the Vant-gard with ten thouſand men. In the midſt were placed the *Tamemez*, and thoſe that carried the Foyſt with all the apparell of the Vergantines. Before thoſe two Captains went a hundred *Spaniards*, and eight Horſe-men, and behind and laſt came *Gonzalo de Sandoval* with all the reſidue, and ſeven Horſemen. Thus they took their way towards *Tezcuco*, with a marvellous noiſe, crying, Chriſtians, Chriſtians, *Tlaxcallan*, *Tlaxcallan*, and *Spain*. When they came to *Tezcuco*, they entred in in very good order, with the ſound of Drummes, Snail ſhels, and other like inſtruments of muſick; and againſt their entry into the City, they put on all their bravery of clothes, and buſhes of feathers, which was a gallant ſight; they were ſix hours in entring into the Town, keeping their array. At the fame of this many Provinces came to ſubmit and offer their ſervice unto *Cortez*, ſome for fear of deſtruction, and others for the hatred which they bare to the *Mexicans*; ſo that now *Cortez* was ſtrong both with *Spaniards* and *Indians*; and his Court at *Tezcuco* was as great, or greater then *Montezuma's* formerly had been at *Mexico*. And here *Cortez* made his preparation for the ſiege of *Mexico* with all haſt, and furniſhed himſelf with ſcaling ladders, and other neceſſaries fit for ſuch a purpoſe. His Vergantines being nayled and throughly ended, he made a ſluce, or trench of halfe a league of length, twelve foot broad and more, and two fadome in depth. This worke was fifty dayes a doing, although there were four hundred thouſand men daily working; truly a famous work and worthy of memory, which hath made *Tezcuco* glorioufly mentioned, though now almoſt decayed in the great number of inhabitants. The Dock or Trench being thus finiſhed, the Vergantines were calked with towe and cotton wooll, and for want of Tallow and oyle, they were (as ſome Authors report) driven to take mans greaſe; not that *Cortez* permitted them to ſlay men for that effect, but of thoſe which were ſlain in the Warres, and of ſuch as ſallied dayly out of *Mexico* to hinder this work, and fighting were ſlain. The *Indians*, who were cruell and bloudy Butchers, uſing ſacrifice of mans fleſh, would in this ſort open the dead body and take out the greaſe. The Vergantines being lanched, *Cortez* muſtered his men, and found nine hundred *Spaniards*, of the which were fourſcore and ſix Horſe-men, and a hundred and eighteen with Croſſe-bowes, and Harquebuſes; and all the reſidue had ſundry weapons, as Swords, Daggers, Targets, Launces, and Halberts. Alſo they had for armour, Corſlets, coats of Mayle, and Jackes. They had moreover three great Pieces of caſt Iron, fifteen ſmall pieces of braſſe, and ten hundred weight of powder, with ſtore of ſhot, beſides a hundred thouſand *Indians* men of Warre. On Whitſunday all the *Spaniards* came into the field, that great plain below the high mountain ſpoken of before, where *Cortez* made three chief Captaines, among whom he divided his whole Army. Unto *Pedro de Alvarado* the firſt Captain he appointed thirty Horſe-men, and a hundred and ſeventy Foot-men of the *Spaniards*, two pieces of Ordinance, and thirty thouſand *Indians*, commanding him to camper in *Tlacopan*. Unto *Chriſtoval de Olit* the ſecond Captain

he gave three and thirty horſemen, and a hundred and eighteen footmen of the *Spaniſh* Nation, two Pieces of Ordinance, and thirty thouſand *Indians*, and appointed him to pitch his campe in *Culhuacan*. To *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, who was the third Captain, he gave three and twenty horſemen, and a hundred and threeſcore footmen, two pieces of Ordinance, and forty thouſand *Indians*, with Commiſſion to chooſe a place to pitch his campe. In every Vergantine he planted a piece of Ordinance, ſix Harquebuſhes, or Croſſe-bowes, and three and twenty *Spaniards*, men moſt fit for that purpoſe. He appointed alſo Captains for each, and himſelf for Generall, whereof ſome of the chiefeſt of his Company began to murmur, that went by Land, thinking that they had been in greater danger; wherefore they required him to go with the main battail, and not by water. *Cortez* little eſteemed their words; for although there was more danger in the land then in the water, yet it did more import to have greater care in the Warres by water, then on the land, becauſe his men had been in the one, and not in the other. Beſides the chiefeſt hopes that *Cortez* had to winne *Mexico*, were theſe Veſſels, for with them he burned a great part of the *Canoa's* of *Mexico*, and the reſt he ſo locked up, that they were no help unto the *Mexicans*, and with twelve only Vergantines he did annoy his enemy as much by water, as the reſt of his Army did by land. All this preparation for the ſiege of *Mexico* by land and water, with above a hundred thouſand *Indians*, beſides the *Spaniards* above mentioned, and the twelve Vergantines by water, was finiſhed in this City of *Tezcuco*, which is a ſufficient argument of the greatneſſe of it at that time, maintaining with Proviſion fit and neceſſary ſo many thouſands of people, and it yeelded matter enough unto us for a large diſcourſe, whilſt not far from the ſight of it we travelled in the open and direct plain Rode to *Mexico*. And as we talked of the greatneſſe of it in former times, ſo likewiſe we now wondered to conſider it to be but a ſmall Government, where doth conſtantly reſide a *Spaniſh* Governour ſent from *Spain*, whoſe power reacheth to thoſe borders of *Tlaxcallan* and *Guacocingo*, and to moſt of the petty Towns and Villages of the plain, which were formerly under the command and power of a King; but now are not able to make up above a thouſand Duckats a year, which is ſuppoſed to be the yearly revenues of the Governour; and *Tezcuco* it ſelf this day judged to conſiſt only of a hundred *Spaniards*, and three hundred *Indian* Inhabitants, whoſe chief riches come by gardening, and ſending dayly in their *Canoa's* Herbes and Sallets to *Mexico*. Some wealth likewiſe they get by their Cedar trees which grow there, and are ready timber for the buildings of *Mexico*. Yet now alſo are theſe Cedars much decayed by the *Spaniards*, who have waſted and ſpoiled them in their too too ſumptuous buildings. *Cortez* only was accuſed by *Pamfilio de Narvez*, for that he had ſpent ſeven thouſand beames of Cedar trees in the work of his own houſe. Gardens there were in *Tezcuco* formerly, that had a thouſand Cedar trees for wals and circuite, ſome of them of a hundred and twenty foot long, and twelve foot in compaſſe from end to end; but now that Garden that hath fifty Cedar trees about it, is much regarded. At the end of this plain we paſſed through *Mexicalcingo*, which formerly was a great Town, but now not of above an hundred Inhabitants, and from thence to *Guetlavac*, a petty Village, yet moſt pleaſant for the ſhade of many fruit trees, Gardens, and ſtately houſes which for their recreation ſome Citizens of *Mexico* have built there, being at the foot of the Cawſey which from this Town through the Lake reacheth about five *Engliſh* miles to *Mexico*. And thus upon the third day of *October*, 1625. we entred into that famous and gallant City, yet not abiding in it, but only paſſing through it, till we came to a houſe of recreation, ſtanding among the Gardens in the way to *Chapultepec*, named Saint *Jacintho*, belonging to the Dominicans of *Manila* in the *Eaſt-India's*, (whither our courſe was intended) where we were ſtately entertained, and abode till after *Candlemaſſe* day, the time of our ſecond ſhipping at *Acoapulco*, (80 leagues from *Mexico*) by the South-Sea to *Manila* the chief City of the Iſlands named *Philippinas*.

Chap. XII.

Shewing some particulars of the great and famous City of Mexico *in former times, with a true description of it now; and of the State and condition of it the year* 1625.

IT hath been no small piece of Policy in the Fryers and Jesuites of *Manila* and the Islands of *Philippinas* to purchase near about *Mexico*, some house and Garden to carry thither such Missionary Priests as they yearly bring from *Spain* for those parts. For were it not that they found some rest and place of Recreation, but were presently closed up in the Cloisters of *Mexico* to follow those religious duties (which sore against their wils most of them are forced to) they would soon after a tedious journey from *Spain* by sea and land relent of their purposes of going forward, and venturing upon a second voiage by the South Sea; and would either resolve upon a return to *Spain*, or of staying in some part of *America*; as my self and five more of my company did, though secretly and hiddenly, and sore against the will of Fryer *Calvo* and others, who had the tutoring and conducting of us. Therefore that all such as come from *Spain* to be shipped again at *Accapulco* for *Philippinas*, may have all manner of incouragement, rest and recreations becoming their Professions, whilest they do abide in *America*; and may not be disheartned by those that live about *Mexico*, (who do truly envy all that passe that way to *Asia*) the Fryers and Jesuites have purchased for their Missions houses of Recreation among the Gardens, which are exempted from the power and command of the Superiors of *Mexico*, and are subordinate unto the Government of the Provincials of *Philippinas*, who send from thence their substitute Vicars to rule, and to look to the forementioned houses and Gardens. To the Dominicans belonged this house called St. *Jacintho*, whither we were carried, and where we did abide near five monthes, having all things provided that were fit and necessary for our Recreations, and for our better encouragement to a second voia ge by Sea. The Gardens belonging to this house might be of fifteen Acres of ground, divided into shady walkes under the Orange and Lemmon trees; there we had the Pomegranates, Figges, and Grapes in abundance, with the Plantin, Sapotte, Chicosapotte, Pine-fruit, and all other fruits that were to be found in *Mexico*. The Herbes and Sallets, and great number of *Spanish Cardoes* which were sold out, brought in a great Rent yearly; for every day there was a Cart attended to be filled and sent to the Market of *Mexico*; and this not at seasons of the year, as here in *England* and other parts of *Europe*, but at all times and seasons, both Winter and Summer, there being no difference of heat, cold, frosts and snow, as with us; but the same temper all the whole year, the Winter differing only from the Summer by the rain that fals, and not by excessive frosts that nip. This we enjoyed without dores; but within we had all sorts and varieties both of fish and flesh. What most we wondred at, was the abundance of sweet meats; and especially of Conserves that were provided for us; for to every one of us during the time of our abode there, was brought on Munday morning half a dozen Boxes of Conserve of Quinces, and other fruits, besides our biskets, to stay our stomachs in the mornings and at other times of the day; for in our stomachs we found a great difference between *Spain* and that Country. For in *Spain* and other parts of *Europe* a mans stomach will hold out from meal to meal, and one meal here of good cheer will nourish and cherish the stomach four and twenty houres; But in *Mexico* and other parts of *America* we found that two or three houres after a good meal of three or four severall dishes of Mutton, Veal or Beef, Kid, Turkeys or other Fowles, our stomachs would be ready to faint, and so we were fain to support them with either a cup of *Chocolatte*, or a bit of Conserve or Bisket, which for that purpose was allowed us in great abundance. This seemed to me so strange, (whereas the meat seemed as fat and hearty, excepting the Beef, as ours in *Europe*) that I for some satisfaction presently had recourse to a Doctor of Physick; who cleared my doubt with this answer, That though the meat we fed on was as fair to look on, as in *Spain*; yet the substance and nourishment in it came far short of it, by reason of the pasture, which is dryer and hath not the change of springs which the pastures of *Europe* have,

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but is ſhort and withers ſoon away. But ſecondly, he told me that the Climate of thoſe parts had this effect, to produce a fair ſhew, but little matter or ſubſtance. As in the fleſh we fed on; ſo likewiſe in all the fruits there, which are moſt fair and beautifull to behold, moſt ſweet and luſcious to taſte, but little inward virtue or nouriſhment at all in them, not halfe that is in a *Spaniſh Camneſa*, or *Engliſh Kentiſh* Pippin. And as in meat, and fruit there is in this inward and hidden deceit, ſo likewiſe the ſame is to be found in the people that are born and bred there, who make fair outward ſhewes, but are inwardly falſe and hollow hearted. Which I have heard reported much among the *Spaniards* to have been the anſwer of our Queen *Elizabeth* of *England* to ſome that preſented unto her of the fruits of *America*; that ſurely where thoſe fruits grew, the women were light, and all the people hollow and falſe hearted. But further reaſons I omit to ſearch into; for this of experience only I write, which taught me that little ſubſtance and virtue is in the great abundance and variety of food which there is enjoyed; our ſtomachs witneſſing this truth, which ever and anon were gaping and crying, Feed, feed. Our Conſerves therefore and dainties were plentifully allowed us; and all other incouragements, and no occaſion denied us of going to viſit *Mexico*, (which was not two full miles from us) all the while we abode there. It was a pleaſant walke for us to go out in the morning, and to ſpend all the day in the City and come home at night; our way lying by Arches made of ſtone, three miles long to convey the water from *Chapultepec* unto the City. Take therefore, gentle Reader, from me what for the ſpace of five months I could learn concerning it in former and preſent times. The ſituation of this City is much like that of *Venice*; but only differs in this, that *Venice* is built upon the Sea-water, and *Mexico* upon a lake, which ſeeming one, indeed is two; one part whereof is ſtanding water; the other ebbeth and floweth, according to the wind that bloweth. That part which ſtandeth, is wholeſome, good, and ſweet, and yeeldeth ſtore of ſmall fiſh. That part which ebbeth and floweth, is a ſaltiſh, bitter, and peſtiferous water, yeelding no kind of fiſh, ſmall or great. The ſweet water ſtandeth higher then the other, and falleth into it, and reverteth not backward, as ſome conceive it doth. The ſalt Lake containeth fifteen miles in breadth, and fifteenn in length, and more then five and forty in circuit; and the Lake of ſweet water containeth even as much, in ſuch ſort that the whole Lake containeth much about a hundred miles. The *Spaniards* are divided in opinions concerning this water and the ſprings of it; ſome hold that all this water hath but one ſpring out of a great and high Mountain which ſtandeth Southweſt within ſight of *Mexico*, and that the cauſe that the one part of the Lake is brackiſh or ſaltiſh, is that the bottom or ground is all ſalt; But however this opinion be true or falſe, certain it is and by experience I can witneſſe that of that part of the ſalt water great quantity of Salt is dayly made, and is part of the great Trading of that City into other parts of the Country, nay it is ſent part of it to the *Philippina* Iſlands. Others ſay that this Lake hath two ſprings, and that the freſh water ſpringeth out of that mountain which ſtandeth Southweſt from *Mexico*, and the ſalt brackiſh water ſpringeth out of other high Mountaines which ſtand more Northweſt; But theſe give no reaſon for the ſaltneſſe of it, without it be the agitation of it in the ebbing and flowing; which not being with tides like the Sea, but with the winds only (which indeed make it as ſtormy ſometimes as is the Sea) why may not the winds produce the ſame effect in the freſh water Lake? I think rather, if it ſpring from a different ſpring from that from whence ſpringeth the freſh water, the brackiſhneſſe and ſaltiſhneſſe of it may proceed from ſome brackiſh and ſulphurous minerals through which it paſſeth in thoſe Mountains. For by experience I know the like in the Province of *Guatemala*, where by a Town called *Amatitan*, there is a ſtanding Lake of water not altogether ſweet and freſh, but a little brackiſh, which certainly hath its ſpring from a fiery Mountain called there a *Vulcan*, (whoſe burning proceeds from the Mines of brimſtone that are within it) from whence ſpring near the ſame Town likewiſe two or three ſprings of exceeding hot water, which are reſorted to for wholeſome bathes, as coming through a ſulphurous mine, and yet the ſtanding Lake proceeding from the ſame Mountain is of that quality that it maketh the ground about it ſalt, and eſpecially in the mornings the people go to gather up the ſalt which lyeth upon the ground by the water ſide like unto a hoary froſt. But thirdly, others conceive that that part of the Lake of *Mexico* which is ſaltiſh and brackiſh comes through the earth from the North Sea; and though ſprings of water which come from the Sea loſe their

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brackiſhneſſe through the earth, yet this may keep ſome brackiſhneſſe by reaſon of the minerals, which are many in thoſe parts; or by reaſon of the great, wide and open concavities of thoſe mountains, which being very hollow within (as we find by experience of the Earthquakes which are more frequent there then here by reaſon of the wind that getteth into thoſe concavities, and ſo ſhakes the earth to get out) give no way to the water to ſweeten through the earth, or to loſe all that ſaltneſſe which it brought with it from the Sea. But whatſoever the true reaſon be, there is not the like Lake known of ſweet and ſaltiſh water, one part breeding fiſh, the other breeding none at all. This Lake had formerly ſome fourſcore Towns, ſome ſay more, ſituated round about it; many of them containing five thouſand houſholds, and ſome ten thouſand, yea and *Tezcuco* (as I have ſaid before) was as big as *Mexico*. But when I was there, there might be thirty Towns and Villages about it, and ſcarce any of above five hundred houſholds between *Spaniards* and *Indians*; ſuch hath been the hard uſage of the *Spaniards* towards them, that they have even almoſt conſumed that poor Nation. Nay two years before I came from thoſe parts, which were the years of 1635. and 1636. I was credibly informed that a million of *Indians* lives had been loſt in an indeavour of the *Spaniards* to turn the water of the Lake another way from the City, which was performed by cutting a way through the Mountains, for to avoid the great inundations that *Mexico* was ſubject unto, and eſpecially for that the year 1634. the waters grew ſo high that they threatned deſtruction to all the City, ruinating a great part, and coming into the Churches that ſtood in the higheſt part of it, in ſo much that the people uſed commonly boats and *Canoa's* from houſe to houſe. And moſt of the *Indians* that lived about the Lake were imployed to ſtrive againſt this ſtrong Element of water, which hath been the undoing of many poor wretches, but eſpecially of theſe thirty Towns and Villages that bordered near upon the Lake; which now by that great work is further from the houſes of the City; and hath a paſſage made another way, though it was thought it would not long continue, but would find again its old courſe towards *Mexico*. This City when *Cortez* firſt entred into it, (was as ſome ſay) of ſixty, but more probably it is reported to have been of fourſcore thouſand houſes. *Montezuma* his palace was very great, large and beautifull, which in the *Indian* language was named *Tepac*; and that had twenty doors or gates, which had their outcoming into the common ſtreets. It had three Courts; and in the one ſtood a fair fountain, many hals, and a hundred chambers of three and twenty, and thirty foot long, an hundred bathes, and hot houſes; and all this without nailes, yet very good workmanſhip. The wals were made of Maſons work, and wrought of Marble, Iaſpe, and other black ſtone, with veines of red, like unto Rubies and other ſtones, which gliſtered very fair; the roofs were wrought of Timber, and curiouſly carved, being of Cedar, Cypres, and Pine tree; the Chambers were painted, and hung with cloth of Cotton, and of Coneys hair and feathers. The beds only were unſeeming this great ſtate, very poor and of no value, ſuch as to this day the beſt and richeſt *Indians* uſe; for they wear nothing but mantles laid upon mattes, or upon hay, or elſe mattes alone. Within this Palace lived a thouſand women, nay ſome affirme three thouſand, reckoning gentlewomen, ſervants and ſlaves, all together; but the moſt were principall *Indians* daughters; of whom *Montezuma* took for himſelf thoſe that liked him beſt, and the other he gave in marriage to gentlemen his ſervants. It is credibly reported among the *Spaniards* that he had at one time a hundred and fifty women his wives with child, who commonly took medicines to caſt their creatures, becauſe they knew that they ſhould not inherit the State; and theſe had many old women to guard them, for no man was permitted to look upon them. Beſides this *Tepac*, which ſignifieth Palace, *Montezuma* had yet in *Mexico* another houſe with very curious lodgings and fair Galleries, built upon pillars of Iaſpe, which looked towards a goodly Garden, in the which there were at leaſt a dozen Ponds, ſome of ſalt water for Sea fowles, and others of freſh water for River fowles and Lake fowles, which Ponds were deviſed with Sluces to empty and to fill at pleaſure for the cleanneſſe of the Fowles feathers; and theſe Fowles are ſaid to have been ſo many in number, that the Ponds could ſcarcely hold them, and of ſuch ſeverall ſorts, and of ſuch ſtrange and various coloured feathers, that the moſt of them the *Spaniards* knew not, nor had at any time ſeen the like. There did belong to that houſe above three hundred perſons of ſervice, who had their ſeverall charge concerning theſe Fowles; ſome had care to cleanſe the Ponds;

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others were appointed to fish for bait; others served them with meat; and to every kind of fowle they gave such bait as they were wont to feed of in the fields or rivers; others did trim their feathers; others had care to look to their egges; others to set them abrood; and the principall office was to pluck the feathers; for of them were made rich mantles, tapistry, targets, tuffes of feathers, and many other things wrought with gold and silver.

Besides this house, *Montezuma* had yet another house within *Mexico*, appointed only for hawking fowles, and fowles of rapine. In which house there were many high Hals, wherein were kept men, women, and children, such as were dwarfes, crook-backs or any monstrous persons, and with them such as were born white of colour, which did very seldome happen; nay some would deform their children on purpose to have them carried to the Kings house, to help to set forth his greatnesse by their deformity. In the lower hals of this house there were Cages for fowls of rapine of all sorts, as Hawkes, Kites, Boyters (which are very many in those parts) and of the Hawkes near a dozen sundry kindes of them. This house had for daily allowance five hundred Turkey cocks, and three hundred men of service, besides the Falconers and Hunters, which some say were above a thousand men. The Hunters were maintained in that house, because of the ravenous beasts which were also kept in the lower Hals in great cages made of timber, wherein were kept in some Lions, in other Tygres, in other Ownzes, in other Wolves; in conclusion, there was no four-footed beast that wanted there, only to the effect, that the mighty *Montezuma* might say that he had such things in his house; and all were fed dayly with Turkey cocks, Deare, Dogges, and such like. There were also in another Hall great earthen vessels, some with earth, and some with water, wherein were Snakes, as grosse as a mans thigh, Vipers, Crocodiles which they call *Caymanes*, of twenty foot long with scales and head like a Dragon; besides many other smaller Lisarts and other venemous beasts and Serpents, as well of the water as of the land. To these Snakes and the other venemous beasts they usually gave the blood of men sacrificed to feed them. Others say they gave unto them mans flesh, which the great Lisarts, or *Caimans* eat very well. But what was wonderfull to behold, horrid to see, hideous to hear in this house, was the Officers dayly occupations about these beasts, the floor with blood like a gelly, stinking like a slaughter-house, and the roaring of the Lions, the fearfull hissing of the Snakes and Adders, the dolefull howling and barking of the Wolves, the sorrowfull yelling of the Ownzes and Tigres, when they would have meat. And yet in this place, which in the night season seemed a dungeon of hell, and a dwelling place for the Devill, could a heathen Prince pray unto his Gods and Idols; for near unto this hall was another of a hundred and fifty foot long and thirty foot broad, where was a chappell with the roof of silver and gold in leaf wainscotted and decked with great store of pearl and stone, as Agats, Cornerines, Emeralds, Rubies, and divers other sorts; and this was the Oratory where *Montezuma* prayed in the night season, and in that chappell the Devill did appear unto him, and gave him answer according to his prayers, which as they were uttered among so many ugly and deformed beasts, and with the noise of them which represented Hell it self, were fitted for a Devils answer. He had also his Armoury, wherein was great store of all kind of such Ammunition which they used in their Warres, as Bowes, Arrows, Slings, Launces, Darts, Clubs, Swords and bucklers, and gallant Targets more trim then strong, and all made of Wood, gilt or covered with Leather. The Wood whereof they made their Armour and Targets was very hard and strong; and at their arrowes ends they enclosed a little piece of flint stone, or a piece of a fish bone called *Libisa*, which was so venemous, that if any were hurt with it, and the head remained in the wound, it so festered that it was almost incurable. Their Swords were of Wood, and the edge thereof was flint stone, inclosed or joyned into a staffe; and with these swords they cut speares, yea and a Horses neck at a blow, and could make dents into Iron, which seemeth a thing unpossible and incredible. These flints were joyned into the staffes with a certain kind of glew, which was made of a root called *Zacoli*, and *Tuxalli*, which is a kind of strong sand, whereof they made a mixture, and after kneaded it with the blood of Battes, or Rear-mice and other fowle, which did glew so strong, that it scarce ever uncleaved again; and of these *Montezuma* had in his house of Armour great store. But besides these houses it is wonderfull to relate yet many others which that great heathen Emperour had for his only recreation and pastime, with excellent fair gardens of medici-

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nall herbs, ſweet flowers, and trees of delectable ſavour. But of one garden more eſpecially it is ſaid, that in it there were a thouſand perſonages made, and wrought artificially of leaves and flowers. And *Montezuma* would not permit that in this garden ſhould be any kind of Pot-herbs, or things to be ſold, ſaying that it did not appertain to Kings to have things of profit among their delights and pleaſures, for that ſuch did appertain to Merchants. Yet out of *Mexico* he had Orchards with many and ſundry fruits; and likewiſe pleaſant houſes in Woods and forreſts, of great compaſſe, environed with water, in the which he had fountains, rivers, ponds with fiſh, rockes and coverts where were Harts, Bucks, Hares, Foxes, Wolves and ſuch like, whither he himſelf ſeldome went; but the Lords of *Mexico* uſed to go to ſport themſelves in them. Such and ſo many were the houſes of *Montezuma*, wherein few Kings were equall with him. He had dayly attending upon him in his privy guard ſix hundred noblemen and gentlemen, and each of them three or four ſervants, and ſome had twenty ſervants or more according to their eſtate; and the moſt credible report goes, that in this manner he had three thouſand men attendants in his Court, all which were fed in his houſe of the meat that came from his table. There were in thoſe times under the *Mexicall* empire three thouſand Lords of Towns, who had many vaſſals; but more eſpecially there were thirty of high eſtate, who were able to make each of them a hundred thouſand men of Warre. And all theſe noble men did abide in *Mexico* a certain time of the year in the Court of *Montezuma*, and could not depart from thence without eſpeciall licence of the Emperour, leaving each of them a ſonne or brother behind them for ſecurity of rebellion; and for this cauſe they had generally houſes in the City; ſuch and ſo great was the Court of *Montezuma*. Moreover he ſpent nothing in the buildings of all theſe his houſes, for he had certain Towns that payed no other tribute, but only to work and repair continually his houſes at their own proper coſt, and payed all kind of workmen, carying upon their backs, or drawing in ſleds ſtone, lime, timber, water, and all other neceſſaries for the work. Likewiſe they were bound to provide all the wood that ſhould be ſpent in the Court, which was five hundred mens burthens, and ſome dayes in the Winter much more. But eſpecially for the Emperours chimneys they brought the barke of Oake trees, which was eſteemed for the light. Thus was that great City formerly illuſtrated with a mighty Monarch, his houſes and attendants. There were then alſo in *Mexico* three ſorts of ſtreets, very broad and fair; the one ſort was only of water, with many bridges, another ſort of only earth, and the third of earth and water, the one half being firme ground to walke upon, and the other half for boats to bring proviſion to the City; the moſt part of the houſes had two doors, the own toward the Cawſey, and the other toward the water, at the which they took boat to go whither they liſt. But this water (though ſo near to the houſes) being not good to drink, there is other water freſh and ſweet brought by conduit to *Mexico*, from a place called *Chapultepec* three miles diſtant from that City, which ſpringeth out of a little hill, at the foot whereof ſtood formerly two ſtatues, or images, wrought in ſtone, with their Targets and Launces, the one of *Montezuma*, the other of *Axaïaca* his father. The water is brought from thence to this day in two pipes built upon Arches of brick and ſtone like a fair bridge; and when the one pipe is foul, then all the water is conveyed into the other, till the firſt be made clean. From this fountain all the whole City is provided, and the Water-men go ſelling the ſame water from ſtreet to ſtreet, ſome in little boats, others with earthen Tankards upon Mules or Aſſes backs. The chief and principall diviſion of this City when the *Spaniards* firſt conquered it, was into two ſtreets; the one was called *Tlatelulco*, that is to ſay, a little Iſland, and the other *Mexico* where *Montezuma* his dwelling and Court was, ſignifying in the language a ſpring. And becauſe of the Kings palace there, the whole City was named *Mexico*. But the old and firſt name of the City according to ſome Hiſtorians was *Tenuchtitlan*, which ſignifieth fruit out of a ſtone, being a compounded name of *Tetl*, which in the language is ſtone, and *Nuchtli*, which is a ſweet fruit called generally in *Cuba*, and all other parts of *America* by the *Spaniards*, *Tunas*; the name of the tree whereon this fruit groweth is called *Nopal*. And when this City begun to be founded it was placed near unto a great ſtone that ſtood in the midſt of the lake, at the foot whereof grew one of theſe *Nopal* trees; which is the reaſon why *Mexico* giveth for armes and device the foot of a *Nopal* tree ſpringing from a ſtone according to the firſt name of the City *Tenuchtlitan*.

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But others do affirme that this City hath the name of the first founder of it, called *Tenuch*, the second son of *Iztacmixcoatl*, whose sons and descendents did first inhabit all that part of *America* which is now called new *Spain*. *Mexico* is as much as to say a spring or fountain, according to the property of the vowell or speech, from whence some judge that City to be so named. But others do affirme that *Mexico* hath its name from a more ancient time, whose first founders were called *Mexiti*, for unto this day the *Indian* dwellers in one street of this City are called of *Mexica*. And that these *Mexiti* took name of their principall idol called *Mexitli*, who was in as great veneration as *Vitzilopuchtli*, God of the War. But others affirme (and this opinion is most received among the *Spaniards*) that the *Mexicans* first were the inhabitans of *nova Galicia*; from whence they made a violent irruption *Anno Domini* 720. and lingered in divers places till the year 902. when under the leading of *Mexi* their chief Captain they built this City, and called it after the name of their Generall. They were in all seven Tribes, which ruled long in an Aristocraticall state; till the most puissant of the Tribes called *Navatalcas*, elected a King to whom they submitted themselves. The first King that was thus elected, was called *Vitzilovitli*; the second, *Acamopitzli*; the third, *Chimalpapoca*; the fourth, *Izchoalt*; the fift, *Montezuma* the first; the sixth, *Acacis*; the seventh *Axaiaca*; the eighth, *Antzlol*; the ninth, *Montezuma* the second, who reigned when *Cortez* came first; the tenth, was *Quahutimoc*, who lost *Mexico*, and in whom ended that *Indian* Empire. The most fortunate of these Kings was *Izchoalt*; who by his cousin *Tlacaellec*, subdued the other six Tribes, and brought them under the *Mexican* Kings. And after the death of *Izchoalt*, *Tlacaellec* was by the first electours (which were six in number) chosen King, as a man of whose vertue they had formerly made tryall. But he very nobly refused it, saying that it was more convenient for the Common-wealth that another should be King, and that he should execute that which was otherwise more fit for the necessity of the State, then to lay the whole burden upon his back; and that without being King, he would not leave to labour for the publick as well as if he were King. Upon this generous refusall they made choice of *Montezuma* the first. The most unhappy Kings of that nation (at whose birth could not but be some dysastrous aspect of the Planets) were the two last, *Montezuma* the second, and *Quahutimoc*, who were both vanquished by *Ferdinando Cortez*, who took *Montezuma* prisoner out of his own palace, and with fair words and language carried him to his lodging in *Mexico*; and kept him there, knocking a pair of gyves on his legges, untill the execution of *Qualpopoca* Lord of *Nahutlan*, now called *Almeria* (who was to be burnt for killing nine *Spaniards*) was past. But this imprisonment of their Emporour stirred up the hearts of all the *Mexicans* to conspire against *Cortez* and the *Spaniards*, against whom they fought a most fierce and bloudy battail two or three daies together, crying out for their Emperour, and threatning them with the cruellest death that ever man suffered. Whereupon *Cortez* desired *Montezuma* to goe up into the Sotie of his house which they were battering with stones, and to command his subjects to cease from their heat and fury; who at *Cortez* his request went up and leaned over the wall to talke with them, and beginning to speak unto them, they threw so many stones out of the street, houses, and windows, that one happened to hit *Montezuma* on the temples of the head, with which blow he fell down dead to the ground; and this was his end, even at the hands of his own subjects and vassals against their wils, in the City of his greatest glory, and in the power and custody of a forain and strange nation. The *Indians* affirme that he was of the greatest bloud of all his linage, and the greatest King in estate that ever was in *Mexico*. And from hence it may very well be noted, that when Kingdomes do most flourish, then are they nigheſt to a change, or else to change their Lord, as doth appear in this History of *Montezuma*, whose great glory and majesty presaged the downfall of that City and people; who though after the death of *Montezuma* they made *Quahutimoc* their Emperour, and persisting in their furious battery against *Cortez* his palace, caused him and all his *Spaniards* to flie out of *Mexico*; yet having strengthened themselves again in *Tlaxcallan*; and prepared sixteen, or as others say, eighteen Vergantines for the lake, they soon after besieged *Mexico* so by water and land, that the Citizens were in great necessity, and so many dead with hunger and sickness, that there were heaps of dead bodies in the houses, only to keep close their extreme misery; who would not yeeld even when they saw their King *Quahutimoc* his fair houses burned, and the greatest

part

part of their City consumed with fire and beaten down plain with the ground, so long as they could injoy any one street, Tower, or Temple to defend themselves and oppose the *Spaniards*; who after many fierce and bloudy fights by land and with their boats by water having wonne the chief Market place and most of the City, as they went walking in the streets found heaps of dead bodies in the houses, streets, and in the water, and the very barks of trees and roots gnawn by the hungry creatures, and the men so lean and yellow that it was a pitifull sight to behold. And with this *Cortez* yet required them to yeeld; but they although they were so lean of body were strong in heart, and answered that he should not speak of any friendship to them, nor yet hope of their spoil, for when no fortune would favour them, then they would either burne their treasure, or throw it into the Lake, where they should never profit thereby, and that they would fight while one alone should remain alive.

Cortez desirous to see what remained of the City to win, went up into a high Tower, and having well viewed the City, he judged that of eight parts one remained yet to win. And assaulting the same, the sorrowfull Citizens bewailing their unfortunate fate and destiny, beseeching the *Spaniards* to make an end, and to kill them all out of hand; others standing at the brim of the water near unto a draw-bridge cried out, Oh Captain *Cortez*, seeing that thou art the Child of the Sun, why dost thou not intreat the Sun thy Father to make an end of us? Oh thou Sun that canst goe round about the World in a day and a night, we pray thee make an end of us and take us out of this miserable life, for we desire death to go and rest with our God *Quetcavatlh* who tarrieth for us. *Cortez* seeing the great extremity that these poor wretched people were in, thinking now that they would yeeld unto him, sent a message to *Quahutimoc*, desiring him to consider his Subjects great extremity, which yet might be greater if he yeelded not to Peace. But when the stubborn King heard this ambassage, he was so moved with ire and choler, that forthwith he commanded *Cortez* his Ambassadour to be sacrificed, and gave the rest of the *Spaniards* that went with him for answer blowes with stones, staves and Arrowes, saying that they desired death and no Peace. Whereupon *Cortez* seeing the King so stubborn and refractory after so much slaughter and misery of his subjects, after so many Combates and skirmishes made with the losse of almost all the City, sent forthwith *Sandoval* with his Vergantines one way, and went himself another combating the houses and forts that yet remained, where he found small resistance, so that he might do what he pleased. One would have thought there had not been five thousand left in all the City, seeing the heaps of dead bodies that lay about the streets and in the houses, and yet such was this last combate, that there were that day slain and taken prisoners forty thousand persons. The lamentable cry and mourning of the women and children, would have made a strong heart relent, the stench also of the dead bodies was wonderfull noysome. That night *Cortez* purposed to make an end the next day of the Warres; and *Quahutimoc* pretended to flie, and for that purpose had enbarked himself in a *Canoa* of twenty Oares. When the day appeared, *Cortez* with his men, and four Pieces of Ordinance came to the corner where those that yet remained were shut up as Cattell in a Pound. He gave order to *Sandoval* and *Alvarado* what they should do, which was to be ready with their Vergantines, and to watch the coming out of the *Canoa's*, which were hidden betwixt certain houses, and especially to have regard unto the Kings person, and not to hurt him, but to take him alive. He commanded the residue of his men to force the *Mexican* boates to goe out, and he himself went up into a Tower, inquiring for the King, where he found *Xihuacoa*, Governour and Captain Generall of the City, who would in no wise yeeld himself. Then came out of the City a great multitude of old folkes, men, women and children to take boat. The throng was so great with haste to enter the *Canoa's*, that many by that means were drowned in the Lake. *Cortez* required his men not to kill those miserable creatures; But yet he could not stay the *Indians* his friends of *Tlaxcallan*, and other places, who slew and sacrificed above fifteen thousand. The men of War stood in the house toppes, and Zoties beholding their perdition. All the Nobility of *Mexico* were enbarked with the King. Then *Cortez* gave signe with the shot of a hand-gun, that his Captains should be in a readinesse, so that in short space they wan fully and wholly the great City of *Mexico*. The Vergantines likewise brake in among the Fleet of boats without

without any resistance, and presently beat down *Quahutimoc* his Royall Standard. *Garcia Holguin* who was a Captain of one of the Vergantines, espied a great *Canoa* of twenty Oares deep laden with men, who (being by one of his prisoners informed that the King was in it) gave chase to it and presently overtook it. When *Quahutimoc*, who stood upon the Puppe of his *Canoa* ready to fight, saw the *Spaniards* Crosse-bowes bent to shoot, and many drawn swords against him, he yeelded himself, declaring that he was King. *Garcia Holguin* being a glad man of such a prisoner took him and carried him unto *Cortez*, who received him very respectfully. But when *Quahutimoc* came near unto him, he laid his hand upon *Cortez* his dagger, saying, I have done all my best and possible endevour to defend my self and my Vassals according to my duty, hoping not to have come to this estate and place where now I stand; and considering that you may do with me what you please, I beseech you to kill me, and that is my only request. *Cortez* comforted him with fair words, giving him hope of life; and took him up into a *Zotie*, requiring him to command his Subjects that yet held out, to yeeld and render themselves. Which *Quahutimoc* presently performed; and at that time after so many Prisoners taken, and so many thousands slain and starved, there were about threescore and ten thousand persons, who seeing their Prince a Prisoner, threw down their weapons and submitted themselves. Thus did *Hernando Cortez* winne the famous and stately City of *Mexico*, on the 13. day of *August*, *Anno Dom.* 1521. In remembrance whereof every year on that day they make in *Mexico* a sumptuous feast and solemne procession, wherein is carried the Standard Royall, with the which the City was wonne. In the losse of it was as much to be observed as Antiquity can produce of any Victory; wherein was one Emperour the greatest that ever was in those parts slain; and another as great a Warrier as ever *America* had known, taken Prisoner. The Siege endured from the time the Vergantines came from *Tlaxcallan* three moneths, and therein were on *Cortez* his side near 200000 *Indians*, who dayly increased and came in to help him, 900 *Spaniards*; foure score horses only, seventeen or eighteen Pieces of Ordinance; sixteen or as some say eighteen Vergantines, and at least 6000 *Canoa's*. In this Siege were slain fifty *Spaniards* only and six horses, and not above eight thousand of the *Indians Cortez* his friends. And on the *Mexicans* side were slain at least a hundred and twenty thousand *Indians*, besides those that died with hunger and Pestilence. At the defence of the City were all the Nobility, by reason whereof many of them were slain. The multitude of people in the City was so great, that they were constrained to eat little, to drink salt water, and to sleep among the dead bodies, where was a horrible stench; and for these causes the disease of Pestilence fell among them, and thereof died an infinite number. Whereupon is to be considered their valour, and stedfast determination; for although they were afflicted with such hunger that they were driven to eat boughs, rindes of trees, and to drink salt water, yet would they not yeeld themselves. And here also is to be noted, that although the *Mexicans* did eat mans flesh, yet they did eat none but such as were their enemies; for had they eaten one another and their own children, there would not so many have died with hunger. The *Mexican* women were highly commended, not only because they abode with their husbands and fathers, but also for the great pains they took with the sick and wounded persons; yea and also they laboured in making slings, cutting stones fit for the same, and throwing stones from the *Zoties*; for therein they did as much hurt as their men. The City was yeelded to the spoil, and the *Spaniards* took the gold, plate and feathers, the *Indian* friends had all the rest of cloth and other stuffe. Thus was that famous City ruinated, and burnt by the *Spaniards*, and the power of that Nation brought under the *Spanish* subjection. *Cortez* having found the aire of that City very temperate and pleasant for mans life, and the situation commodious, thought presently of rebuilding it, and of making it the chief Seat of Justice and Court for all that Country. But before I come to speak of it as rebuilded and now flourishing, I must add unto what hath been said of *Montezuma* his former state and houses in it, the greatnesse of the Market place and Temple, which was in it, when the *Spaniards* ruined and destroyed it. The conveniencie of the Lake about this City gave encouragement to the *Mexicans* to set apart a most spacious Market place, whither all the Country about might resort to buy, exchange and sell; which was the more easie for them by reason of the abundance of Boats which were made only for such Traf-

fique. In this great lake there were at that time above two hundred thousand of these little boats, which the *Indians* call *Acalles*, and the *Spaniards* call them *Canoa's*, wrought like a kneading trough, some bigger then others according to the greatnesse of the body of the tree, whereof they are made. And where I number two hundred thousand of these boats, I speak of the least, for *Mexico* alone had above fifty thousand ordinarily to carry and bring unto the City victuall, provision, and passengers, so that on the market-daies all the streets of water were full of them. The Market is called in the *Indian* tongue *Tlanquiztli*; every parish had his Market place to buy and sell in; but *Mexico* and *Tlatelulco* only, which are the chiefest Cities, had great Fayres and places fit for the same; and especially *Mexico* had one place, where most daies in the year was buying and selling; but every fourth day was the great Market ordinarily. This place was wide and large, compassed about with doores, and was so great that a hundred thousand persons came thither to chop and change, as a City most principall in all that region. Every occupation and kind of merchandize had his proper place appointed, which no other might by any means occupie or disturb. Likewise pesterous wares had their place accordingly, such as stone, timber, lime, bricke and all such kind of stuffe unwrought, being necessary to build withall. Also mattes both fine and course, of sundry workmanship; also coales, wood, and all sorts of earthen vessels, glazed and painted very curiously. Deere skinnes both raw and tanned in hair, and without hair, of many colours, for Shoemakers, for Bucklers, Targets, Jerkins, and lining of woodden corslets, also skinnes of other beasts, and fowle in feathers ready dressed of all sorts. The colours and strangenesse thereof was a thing wonderfull to behold. The richest merchandize was salt, and mantles of Cotton wool of divers colours, both great and small; some for beds, other for garments and clothing, other for Tapistry to hang houses; other Cotten-cloth was wont to be sold there for linnen drawers (which to this day the *Indians* use) for shirts, table clothes, towels and such like things. There were also mantles, made of the leaves of a tree called *Metl*, and of the Palme-tree and Conie-hair, which were well esteemed, being very warme, but the Coverlets made of feathers were the best. They sold thred there made of Conie-haire, and also skains of other thred of all colours. But the great store of poultrey which was brought to that Market was strange to see, and the uses they sold and bought them for; for although they did eat the flesh of the fowl, yet the feathers served for clothing, mixing one sort with another. But the chief bravery of that market was the place where gold and feathers joyntly wrought were sold; for any thing that was in request, was there lively wrought in gold and feathers and gallant colours. The *Indians* were so expert and perfect in this science, that they would work or make a butter-flie, any wild beast, trees, roses, flowers, herbs, roots, or any other thing so lively that it was a thing marvellous to behold. It happened many times that one of these workmen in a whole day would eat nothing, only to place one feather in his due perfection, turning and tossing the feather to the light of the Sun, into the shade or darke place to see where was his most naturall perfection, and till his work were finished he would neither eat nor drink. There are few nations of so much fleam or substance. The art, or science of Gold-smiths among them was the most curious, and very good workmanship engraven with tooles made of flint or in mould. They will cast a platter in mould with eight corners, and every corner of severall metall, the one of gold, and the other of silver, without any kind of solder. They will also found or cast a little cauldron with loose handles hanging thereat, as we use to cast a bell; they will also cast in mould a fish of metall, with one scale of silver on his back, and another of gold; they will make a Barret or Popingay of metall, that his tongue shall shake, and his head move, and his wings flutter; they will cast an Ape in mould, that both hands and feet shall stir; and hold a spindle in his hand seeming to spin, yea and an apple in his hand as though he would eat it. They have skill also of Amell work and to set any pretious stone. But now as touching the market, there was to sell Gold, Silver, Copper, Lead, Latten, and Tin; although there was but very little of the three last metals mentioned. There were pearls, pretious stones, divers and sundry sorts of shelles, and bones, Sponges, and Pedlers ware. There were also many kind of herbs, roots, and seeds, as well to be eaten, as for medicine; for both men, women and children had great knowledge in herbs, for through poverty and necessity they did seek them for their sustenance and help of their infirmities and diseases. They did spend little among Physitians,

although

although there were some of that art, and many Apothecaries; who did bring into the market, oyntments, syrups, waters, and other drugs fit for sick persons. They cure all diseases almost with herbs; yea as much as for to kill lice they have a proper herb for the purpose. The severall kinds of meats to be sold was without number, as Snakes without head and tail, little dogges gelt, Moules, Rats, Long-wormes, Lyce, yea and a kinde of earth; for at one season in the year they had nets of Mayle, with the which they raked up a certain dust that is bred upon the water of the lake of *Mexico*, and that is kneaded together like unto oas of the sea. They gathered much of this and kept it in heaps, and made thereof cakes like unto brick-bats. And they did not only sell this ware in the Market, but also sent it abroad to other Fayres and markets a far off; and they did eat this meal with as good a stomach as we eat cheese: yea and they hold opinion, that this skumme or fatnesse of the water is the cause that such great number of fowl cometh to the lake, which in the winter season is infinite. They sold likewise in this Market Venison by quarters or whole, as Does, Hares, Conies, and Dogges, and many other beasts, which the brought up for the purpose and took in hunting. The great store of sundry kinds of fruits was marvellous, which were there sold, both green and ripe. There is a sort as big as an Almond called *Cacao* (whereof is the drink called *Chocolatte* well known now in Christendome) which is both meat and currant money. In these times of the bigger sort sixscore or sevenscore, and of the lesser sort two hundred are worth a *Spanish* Riall, which is sixpence, and with these the *Indians* buy what they list; for five, nay for two Cacao's which is a very small part of a Riall, they do buy fruits and the like. There were divers kinds of colours to be sold, which they made of roses, flowers, fruits, barkes of trees, and other things very excellent. All the things recited, and many others which I speak not of, were sold in this great market, and in every other Market of *Mexico*; and all the sellers payed a certain summe for their shops or standings to the King, as a custome, and they were to be preserved and defended from theeves and robbers. And for that purpose there went Serjeants and Officers up and down the market to espie out malefactors. In the midst of this Market stood an house, which was to be seen throughout the Fayre, and there did sit commonly twelve ancient men for Judges to dispatch law matters. Their buying and selling was to change one ware for another, one gave a hen for a bundle of Maiz, others gave mantles for salt or money which was *Cacao*. They had measure and strike for all kinde of corne, and other earthen measures for hony and oil, and such wines as they made of Palme-trees, and other roots and trees. And if any measure were falsified, they punished the Offenders and brake their measures. This was the civility they had when they were Heathens, for buying and selling. And although they knew not the true God, but worshipped Idols; yet to their Idols and to the Devill they dedicated Temples and places of worship, wherein they used those sacrifices which *David* speaks of in *Psal.* 106. 37. saying, *They sacrificed their sons and their daughters unto Devils.*

The Temple is called in the *Mexican* language *Teucalli*, which is a compound word of *Teutl*, which signifieth God, and *Calli*, which signifieth a house. There were in *Mexico* many parish Churches with towers, wherein were Chappels and Altars where the Images and Idols did stand. All their Temples were of one fashion; the like I believe was never seen nor heard of. And therefore it shall be now sufficient to describe the chief and greatest Temple, which was as their Cathedrall Church. This Temple was square, and did contain every way as much ground as a Crosse-bow can reach levell. It was made of stone, with four dores that abutted upon the three Cawseys, and upon another part of the City that had no Cawsey, but a fair street. In the midst of this Quadern stood a mount of earth and stone square likewise, and fifty fadome long every way, built upward like unto a pyramide of *Ægypt*, saving that the top was not sharpe, but plain and flat, and ten fadome square. Upon the West side were steps up to the top, in number a hundred and fourteen, which being so many, high and made of good stone, did seem a beautifull thing. It was a strange sight to behold the Priests, some going up, and some down with ceremonies, or with men to be sacrificed. Upon the top of this Temple were two great Altars, a good space distant the one from the other, and so nigh the edge or brimme of the wall, that scarcely a man might go behind them at pleasure. The one Altar stood on the right hand, and the other on the left; they were but of five foot high: each of them had the back part made of

ſtone, painted with monſtrous and foul figures. The Chappell was fair and well wrought of Maſons work and timber; every Chappell had three lofts one above another, ſuſtained upon pillars, and with the height thereof it ſhewed like unto a fair tower, and beautified the City a far off. From thence a man might ſee all the City and Towns round about the lake, which was undoubtedly a goodly proſpect. And becauſe *Cortez* and his company ſhould ſee the beauty thereof, *Montezuma* himſelf (to make the more oſtentation of his greatneſſe and the Majeſty of his Court) carried the firſt *Spaniards* thither, and ſhewed them all the order of the Temple, even from the foot to the top. There was a certain plot or ſpace for the Idoll Prieſts to celebrate their ſervice without diſturbance of any. Their generall prayers were made toward the riſing of the ſun; upon each Altar ſtood a great Idoll.

Beſides this tower which ſtood upon the Pyramide, there were fourty towers great and ſmall belonging to other little Temples which ſtood in the ſame circuite; the which although they were of the ſame making, yet their proſpect was not Weſt-ward, but other waies, becauſe there ſhould be a difference betwixt the great Temple and them. Some of theſe Temples were bigger then others, and every one of a ſeverall God; among the which there was one round Temple dedicated to the God of the aire called *Quecalcovatl*; for even as the aire goeth round about the heavens, even for that conſideration they made this Temple round. The entrance of that Temple had a dore made like unto the mouth of a Serpent, and was painted with foule and devilliſh geſtures, with great teeth and gummes wrought, which was a ſight to fear thoſe that ſhould enter in thereat, and eſpecially the Chriſtians unto whom it repreſented hell it ſelf with that ugly face and monſtrous teeth. There were other Teucallies in the City, that had the aſcending up by ſteps in three places; and all theſe Temples had houſes by themſelves with all ſervice belonging to them, and Prieſts, and particular Gods. And from this manner of theſe Heathens Temples, and Altars made with ſteps, we may obſerve how like unto them is now the Church of *Rome*, which as it confeſſeth that there never was a Church without a viſible ſacrifice, and therefore teacheth that Chriſts body muſt be broken upon their Altars, and diſtributed not only as a ſacrament to the people, but as a ſacrifice in the Prieſts hands, differing only that the ſacrifices of Sheep and Oxen in the old law, and theſe of the Heathens were bloudy ſacrifices, but theirs of Chriſts body they call *Incruentum Sacrificium*, an unbloudy ſacrifice; ſo likewiſe in the buildings of their Churches with ſeverall Towers and Altars and Chappels dedicated to ſeverall Saints they ſeem to have taken from the very Heathens; but eſpecially in the many ſteps whereby they aſcend up to their Altars, they reſemble theſe, forgetting Gods words in Exod. 20. 26. ſaying, *Neither ſhalt thou goe up by ſteps unto mine Altar, that thy nakedneſſe be not diſcovered thereon.* And laſtly in their houſes and Cloiſters joyning to their Churches for the ſervice of them, being full of idolatrous Prieſts and Fryers conſecrated for their ſervice, they ſeem likewiſe to have borrowed that fancy of Convents, Abbeys, and Priories from the very Heathens, who (as preſently I ſhall ſhew) had near joyning to this great Temple, houſes containing thouſands of Prieſts, with yearly rents and revenues, like thoſe of *Romes* Abbeys, and Cloiſters. At every dore of this great Temple of *Mexico* ſtood a large hall, and goodly lodgings both high and low round about, which houſes were common Armories for the City. The Heathens it ſeems had ſo much underſtanding as to know that the force and ſtrength of a Town, City, or Country is the Temple, and therefore they placed there their ſtorehouſe of munition.

They had other darke houſes full of Idols great and ſmall, wrought of ſundry metals, which were all bathed and waſhed with blood, and did ſhew very black through their daily ſprinkling and anointing them with the ſame, when any man was ſacrificed; yea and the wals were an inch thick with bloud, and the ground a foot thick of it, ſo that there was a devilliſh ſtench. The Prieſts went dayly into thoſe Oratories, and ſuffered none other but great perſonages to enter in. And when any ſuch went in, they were bound to offer ſome man to be ſacrificed, that thoſe bloudy hangmen and Miniſters of the Devill might waſh their hands in the bloud of thoſe ſo ſacrificed, and might ſprinkle their houſe therewith. For their ſervice in the Kitchin they had a pond of water, that was filled once a year, which was brought by the Conduit pipes before mentioned, from the principall fountain. All the reſidue of the foreſaid circuit ſerved for places to breed fowles, with gardens of herbs and ſweet trees,

with

with roſes and flowers for the Altars; and this is alſo the Church of *Romes* cuſtome and ſuperſtition, to trim and deck their Saints and Altars with Garlands and Crowns of Roſes and other flowers. Such, ſo great and ſtrange was this Temple of *Mexico*, for the ſervice of the Devill, who had deceived thoſe ſimple *Indians*. There did reſide (as I ſaid before of Monkes and Fryers in their Cloiſters joyning to their Churches) in this Temple and houſes joyning to it, continually five thouſand perſons, and all theſe were lodged and had their living there; for that Temple was marvellous rich, and had divers Towns only for their maintenance, and reparation, and were bound to ſuſtain the ſame alwayes on foot. Theſe Towns did ſow corn, and maintain all thoſe five thouſand perſons with bread, fleſh, fiſh, and firewood as much as they needed, for they ſpent more firewood then was ſpent in the Kings Court. Theſe perſons did live like *Romes* Abby-lubbers at their hearts eaſe, as ſervants and yaſſals unto the Gods, which were many; and every God had ſeverall ranks and Orders of Prieſts to ſerve him; as the ſeverall Saints canonized by the Popes of *Rome* have under them diſtinct Religious Orders of Prieſts, Dominick hath Dominicans, Francis Franciſcans, Benedict Benedictines, Baſil Baſilians, Bernard Bernardines, Auguſtin Auguſtines, and the like.

The Gods of *Mexico* (as the *Indians* reported to the firſt *Spaniards*) were two thouſand in number; the chiefeſt were *Vitzilopuchtli*, and *Tezcatlipuca*, whoſe Images ſtood higheſt in the Temple upon the Altars. They were made of ſtone in full proportion as big as a Gyant. They were covered with a lawne called *Nacar*; they were beſet with pearls, pretious ſtones, and pieces of gold, wrought like birds, beaſts fiſhes, and flowers, adorned with Emeralds, Turquies, Chalcedons, and other little fine ſtones, ſo that when the lawne was taken away, the Images ſeemed very beautifull and glorious to behold. But muſt I find out *Rome* ſtill among theſe Heathens? and will the Papiſts be angry if I tell them plainly that what I miſlike in theſe Idolatrous *Mexicans*, I miſlike in them? for do not they deck and adorne their Idol Saints, as the heathens did *Vitzilopuchtli* and *Tezcatlipuca*? Do not they cover their woodden and ſtony ſtatues of Saints, and of the Virgin *Mary* with fine lawne ſhirts, and hide them with curtaines of cloth of Gold, and crowne them with Crowns of Silver and Gold, and enrich them with coſtly and pretious Jewels and Diamonds: not conſidering that they are the works of their own hands? *Ad quid perditio hæc? poterant enim venundari, & dari pauperibus.* Theſe two *Indian* Idols had for a girdle great ſnakes of gold, and for collars or chaines about their necks ten hearts of men made of gold; and each of them had a counterfeit Viſor with eyes of glaſſe, and in their necks Death painted. Theſe two Gods were brethren, for *Tezcatlipuca* was the God of Providence, and *Vitzilopuchtli*, God of the Warres; who was worſhipped and feared more then all the reſt. There was another God, who had a great Image placed upon the top of the Chappell of Idols, and he was eſteemed for a ſpeciall and ſingular God above all the reſt. This God was made of all kinde of ſeeds that grow in that Countrey; which being ground, they made a certain paſte tempered with childrens bloud and Virgins ſacrificed, who were opened with raſors in their breſts, and their hearts taken out, to offer as firſt fruits unto the Idol. The Prieſts conſecrated this Idoll with great pompe and many Ceremonies. All the *Comarcans* and Citizens were preſent at the Conſecration with great triumph and incredible devotion. After the Conſecration many devout perſons came and ſticked in the dowy Image pretious ſtones, wedges of gold, and other Jewels. And after all this pompe ended, no ſecular man might touch that holy Image; no nor yet come into his Chappell; nay ſcarcely religious perſons, except they were *Tlumacaztli*, who were Prieſts of Order. They did renew this Image many times with new dough, taking away the old. And then (like again unto the Papiſts who think themſelves happy with their Saints reliques, though ragges or bones) bleſſed was he that could get one piece of the old ragges, or a piece of the old dough, for the which there was moſt earneſt ſuits made by the Souldiers, who thought themſelves ſure therewith in the Warres. Alſo at the conſecration of this Idoll, a certain veſſell of water was bleſſed with many words and ceremonies (peradventure from this heatheniſh Ceremonie came the ſuperſtitious holy water to *Rome*) and that water was preſerved very religiouſly at the foot of the Altar, for to conſecrate the King when he ſhould be crowned, and alſo to bleſſe any Captain Generall, when he ſhould be elected for the Warres, with only giving him a draught

of that water. And as the *Romiſh* Church makes much of their dead mens skulles and rotten bones, laying them up in their Churchyards under ſome arches made for that purpoſe in the Church wals, even ſo was it here in *Mexico*; for without this Temple, and overagainſt the principall door thereof, a ſtones caſt diſtant ſtood a Charnell houſe only of dead mens heads, priſoners in Warres and ſacrificed with the knife. This monument was made like unto a Theatre, more large then broad, wrought of lime and ſtone, with aſcending ſteps; in the wals whereof was graffed betwixt ſtone and ſtone a skull with the teeth outwards. At the foot and head of this Theatre, were two towers made only of lime and skulles, the teeth outward, which having no other ſtuffe in the wall ſeemed a ſtrange ſight. At and upon the top of the Theatre, were threeſcore and ten poles, ſtanding the one from the other four or five foot diſtant, and each of them was full of ſtaves from the foot to the top. Each of theſe ſtaves had others made faſt unto them, and every one of them had five skulles broched through the temples. When the *Spaniards* firſt entred into *Mexico* as friends before the death of *Montezuma* they viſited all theſe monuments; and in what they have written and tranſmitted to poſterity of that City, it is recorded of one *Andrew de Tapia*, and *Gonzalo de Umbria* that one day they did reckon theſe skulles, and found a hundred thirty and ſix thouſand skulls on the poles, ſtaves and ſteps. The other Towers were repleniſhed out of number; and there were men appointed, that when one skull fell, to ſet up another in his place, ſo that the number might never want. But all theſe Towers and Idols were pulled down, and conſumed with fire, when the *Spaniards* wanne that City. And certainly they had been more renowned in deſtoying thoſe Altars of the Devill and thoſe Idoll Gods, if in their ſtead they had not ſet up new Idols and Saints of ſtocks and ſtones, and built unto them as many more Churches as they found at their coming thither. All therefore that hath been mentioned hitherto of *Montezuma* his houſes and Gardens, of the ſpacious Market place, and Temples of that City was utterly deſtroyed and brought downe to the very ground. But *Cortez* reedified it again, not only for the ſituation and majeſty, but alſo for the name and great fame thereof. He divided it among the Conquerours, having firſt taken out places for Churches, Market places, Town-houſe and other neceſſary plots to build houſes, profitable for the Common-wealth. He ſeparated the dwellings of the *Spaniards* from the *Indians*, ſo that now the water paſſeth and maketh diviſion betwixt them. He promiſed to them that were naturals of the City of *Mexico* plots to build upon, inheritance, freedome, and other liberties, and the like unto all thoſe that would come and inhabit there, which was a means to allure many thither. He ſet alſo at liberty *Xihuaco*, the Generall Captain, and made him chief over the *Indians* in the City, unto whom he gave a whole ſtreet. He gave likewiſe another ſtreet to *Don Pedro Montezuma* who was ſon to *Montezuma* the King. All this was done to win the favour of the people. He made other Gentlemen Seniors of little Iſlands, and ſtreets to build upon, and to inhabit, and in this order the whole ſituation was reparted, and the work began with great joy and diligence. And when the fame was blowne abroad that *Mexico* ſhould be built again, it was a wonder to ſee the people that reſorted thither hearing of liberty and freedome. The numbers was ſo great that in three miles compaſſe was nothing but people men and women. They laboured ſore and did eat little, by reaſon whereof many ſickned, and peſtilence enſued, whereof died an infinite number. Their pains was great, for they bare on their backs, and drew after them ſtones, earth, timber, lyme, brick, and all other things neceſſary in this ſort; And by little and little *Mexico* was built again with a hundred thouſand houſes, more ſtrong and better then the old building was. The *Spaniards* built their houſes after the *Spaniſh* faſhion; and *Cortez* built his houſe upon the plot where *Montezuma* his houſe ſtood, which renteth now yearly four thouſand duckats, and is called now the Palace of the Marques *Del Valle*, the King of *Spain* having conferred upon *Cortez* and his heires this title from the great Valley of *Guaxaca*. This Palace is ſo ſtately that (as I have obſerved before) ſeven thouſand beams of Cedar Trees were ſpent in it. They built fair Dockes covered over with Arches for the Vergantines; which Dockes for a perpetuall memory doe remain untill this day. They dammed up the ſtreets of water, where now faire houſes ſtand, ſo that *Mexico* is not as it was wont to be, and eſpecially ſince the year 1634. the water cometh not by far ſo near the City as it was wont to come.

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The Lake ſometimes caſteth out a vapour of ſtench, but otherwiſe it is a wholeſome and temperate dwelling, by reaſon of the Mountains that ſtand round about it, and well provided through the fertility of the Countrey, and commodity of the Lake. So that now is *Mexico* one of the greateſt Cities in the World in extention of the ſituation for *Spaniſh* and *Indian* houſes. Not many years after the Conqueſt it was the Nobleſt City in all *India* as well in Armes as Policy. There were formerly at the leaſt two thouſand Citizens, that had each of them his horſe in his ſtable with rich furniture for them, and Armes in readineſſe. But now ſince all the *Indians* far and near are ſubdued, and moſt of them eſpecially about *Mexico* conſumed, and there is no fear of their riſing up any more againſt the *Spaniards*, all armes are forgotten, and the *Spaniards* live ſo ſecure from enemies, that there is neither Gate, Wall, Bulwarke, Platforme, Tower, Armory, Ammunition, or Ordinance to ſecure and defend the City from a Domeſtick or forain enemy; from the latter they thinke St. *John de Ulhua* ſufficient and ſtrong enough to ſecure them. But for Contractation it is one of the richeſt Cities in the World; to the which by the North Sea cometh every year from *Spain* a Fleet of near twenty ſhips laden with the beſt Commodities not only of *Spain* but of the moſt parts of Chriſtendome. And by the South Sea it enjoyeth Traffique from all parts of *Peru*; and above all it Trades with the *Eaſt-India's*, and from thence receiveth the Commodities as well from thoſe parts which are inhabited by *Portingals*, as from the Countries of *Japan* and *China*, ſending every year two great *Caracas* with two ſmaller Veſſels to the Iſlands of *Philippinas*, and having every year a returne of ſuch like ſhips. There is alſo in *Mexico* a Mint houſe where Money is dayly coyned; and is brought thither in wedges upon Mules from the Mines called St. *Lewis de Sacatecas*, ſtanding fourſcore Leagues from *Mexico* Northward, and yet from *Sacatecas* forward have the *Spaniards* entred above a hundred Leagues conquering daily *Indians*, where they diſcover ſtore of Mines; and there they have built a City, called *Nova Mexico*, new *Mexico*. The *Indians* there are great Warriers, and hold the *Spaniards* hard to it. It is thought the *Spaniard* will not be ſatisfied, untill he ſubdue all the Country that way, which doubtleſſe reacheth to our plantations of *Virginia* and the reſt being the ſame continued continent land. There is yet more in *Mexico*, a fair ſchoole, which now is made an Vniverſity, which the Viceroy *Don Antonio de Mendoza* cauſed to be built. At the rebuilding of this City there was a great difference betwixt an Inhabitant of *Mexico*, and a Conquerour; for a Conquerour was a name of honour, and had lands and rents given him and to his poſterity by the King of *Spain*, and the Inhabitant or only dweller payed rent for his houſe. And this hath filled all thoſe parts of *America* with proud *Dons* and Gentlemen to this day; for every one will call himſelf a deſcendent from a Conquerour, though he be as poor as *Job*; and aske him what is become of his Eſtate and fortune, he will anſwer that fortune hath taken it away, which ſhall never take away a *Don* from him. Nay a poor Cobler or Carrier that runs about the Countrey far and near getting his living with half a dozen Mules, if he be called *Mendoza*, or *Guzman*, will ſwear that he deſcended from thoſe Dukes houſes in *Spain*, and that his Grand-father came from thence to Conquer, and ſubdued whole Countries to the Crown of *Spain*, though now fortune hath frowned upon him, and covered his rags with a thredbare Cloak. When *Mexico* was rebuilt, and Judges, Aldermen, Attorneys, Towne Clerks, Notaries, Skavengers, and Serjeants with all other Officers neceſſary for the Common-weale of a City were appointed, the fame of *Cortez* and majeſty of the City was blown abroad into far Provinces, by means whereof it was ſoon repleniſhed with *Indians* againe, and with *Spaniards* from *Spain*, who ſoon conquered above foure hundred Leagues of Land, being all governed by the Princely Seat of *Mexico*. But ſince that firſt rebuilding, I may ſay it is now rebuilt the ſecond time by *Spaniards*, who have conſumed moſt of the *Indians*; ſo that now I will not dare to ſay there are a hundred thouſand houſes which ſoon after the Conqueſt were built up, for moſt of them were of *Indians*. Now the *Indians* that live there, live in the ſuburbs of the City, and their ſituation is called *Guadalupe*. In the year 1625. when I went to thoſe parts, this Suburbe was judged to contain five thouſand Inhabitants; But ſince moſt of them have been conſumed by the *Spaniards* hard uſage and the work of the Lake. So that now there may not be above two thouſand Inhabitants of meer *Indians*, and a thouſand of ſuch

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as they call there *Meſtizos*, who are of a mixt nature of *Spaniards* and *Indians*, for many poor *Spaniards* marry with *Indian* women, and others that marry them not but hate their husbands, find mady tricks to convey away an innocent *Uriah* to enjoy his *Bathſheba*. The *Spaniards* daily couſen them of the ſmall plot of ground where their houſes ſtand, and of three or four houſes of *Indians* build up one good and fair houſe after the *Spaniſh* faſhion with Gardens and Orchards. And ſo is almoſt all *Mexico* new built with very fair and ſpacious houſes with Gardens of recreation. Their buildings are with ſtone, and brick very ſtrong, but not high, by reaſon of the many Earth-quakes, which would indanger their houſes if they were above three ſtories high. The ſtreets are very broad, in the narroweſt of them three Coaches may goe, and in the broader ſix may goe in the breadth of them, which makes the City ſeem a great deal bigger then it is. In my time it was thought to be of between thirty and forty thouſand inhabitants *Spaniards*, who are ſo proud and rich, that half the City was judged to keep Coaches, for it was a moſt credible report that in *Mexico* in my time there were above fifteen thouſand Coaches. It is a by-word that at *Mexico* there are four things fair, that is to ſay, the women, the apparell, the horſes, and the ſtreets. But to this I may add the beauty of ſome of the Coaches of the gentry, which do exceed in coſt the beſt of the Court of *Madrid* and other parts of Chriſtendome; for there they ſpare no Silver, nor Gold, nor pretious ſtones, nor Cloth of Gold, nor the beſt Silkes from *China* to enrich them. And to the gallantry of their horſes the pride of ſome doth add the coſt of bridles, and ſhooes of ſilver. The ſtreets of Chriſtendome muſt not compare with thoſe in breadth and cleanneſſe, but eſpecially in the riches of the ſhops which do adorn them. Above all the Goldſmiths ſhops and works are to be admired. The *Indians*, and the people of *China* that have been made Chriſtians and every year come thither, have perfected the *Spaniards* in that Trade. The Viceroy that went thither the year 1625. cauſed a *Popingay* to be made of ſilver, gold, and pretious ſtones with the perfect colours of the *Popingays* feathers, (a bird bigger then a pheaſant) with ſuch exquiſite art and perfection, to preſent unto the King of *Spain*, that it was prized to be worth in riches and workmanſhip half a Million of Duckats. There is in the Cloiſter of the Dominicans a lampe hanging in the Church with three hundred branches wrought in ſilver to hold ſo many Candles, beſides an hundred little lampes for oil ſet in it, every one being made with ſeverall wormanſhip ſo exquiſitely, that it is valued to be worth four hundred thouſand duckats; and with ſuch like curious works are many ſtreets made more rich and beautifull from the ſhops of Goldſmiths. To the by-word touching the beauty of the women I muſt add the liberty they enjoy for gaming, which is ſuch that the day and night is to ſhort for them to end a Primera when once it is begun; nay gaming is ſo common too them that they invite gentlemen to their houſes for no other end. To my ſelf it happened that paſſing along the ſtreets in company with a Fryer that came with me that year from *Spain*, a gentlewoman of great birth knowing us to be *Chapetons* (ſo the call the firſt year thoſe that come from *Spain*) from her window called unto us, and after two or three ſlight queſtions concerning *Spain* asked us if we would come in and play with her a Game at Primera. Both men and women are exceſſive in their apparell, uſing more ſilkes then ſtuffes and cloth; pretious Stones and Pearls further much this their vain oſtentation; a hat-band and roſe made of Diamonds in a Gentlemans hat is common, and a hat-band of Pearls is ordinary in a Tradeſman; nay a Blackmore or Tauny young maide and ſlave will make hard ſhift but ſhe will be in faſhion with her Neckchain and Bracelets of Pearls, and her Eare-bobs of ſome conſiderable Jewels. The attire of this baſer ſort of people of Blackmores and Mulatta's (which are of a mixt nature, of *Spaniards* and Blackmores) is ſo light, and their carriage ſo enticing, that many *Spaniards* even of the better ſort (who are too too prone to Venery) diſdain their Wives for them. Their clothing is a Petticoate, of Silk or Cloth, with many ſilver or golden Laces, with a very broad double Ribband of ſome light colour with long ſilver or golden Tags hanging down before, the whole length of their Peticoat to the ground, and the like behind; their Waſcoats made like bodies, with skirts, laced likewiſe with gold or ſilver, without ſleeves, and a girdle about their body of great price ſtuck with Pearls and knots of Gold, (if they be any wayes well eſteemed of) their ſleeves are broad and open at the end, of *Holland* or fine *China* linnen, wrought ſome with coloured ſilkes; ſome with ſilke and gold, ſome with

with ſilk and ſilver, hanging down almoſt unto the ground; the locks of their heads are covered with ſome wrought quoiſe, and over it another of net-work of ſilk bound with a fair ſilk, or ſilver or golden ribband which croſſeth the upper part of their forehead; and hath commonly worked out in letters ſome light and fooliſh love poſie; their bare, black and tauny breſts are covered with bobs hanging from their chaines of pearls. And when they go abroad, they uſe a white mantle of lawn or cambrick rounded with a broad lace, which ſome put over their heads, the breadth reaching only to their middle behind, that their girdle and ribbands may be ſeen, and the two ends before reaching to the ground almoſt; others caſt their mantles only upon their ſhoulders, and ſwaggerers like, caſt the one end over the left ſhoulder, that they may the better jog the right arme, and ſhew their broad ſleeve as they walke along; others inſtead of this mantle uſe ſome rich ſilke petticoat, to hang upon their left ſhoulder, while with their right arme they ſupport the lower part of it, more like roaring boyes, then honeſt civil maids. Their ſhooes are high and of many ſoles, the outſide whereof of the profaner ſort are plated with a liſt of ſilver, which is faſtned with ſmall nailes of broad ſilver heads. Moſt of theſe are or have been ſlaves, though love have ſet them looſe at liberty, to enſlave ſouls to ſin and Satan. And there are ſo many of this kind both men and women grown to a height of pride and vanity, that many times the *Spaniards* have feared they would riſe up and mutiny againſt them. And for the looſeneſſe of their lives, and publick ſcandals committed by them and the better ſort of the *Spaniards*, I have heard them ſay often who have profeſſed more religion and fear of God, they verily thought God would deſtoy that City, and give up the Country into the power of ſome other nation.

I will not relate particulars of their obſcene and ſcandalous, yea and publick carriages which would offend my Readers patience, and make his ears to tingle; only I ſay, certainly God is offended with that ſecond *Sodom*, whoſe inhabitants though now they be like the green bay-tree flouriſhing with jewels, pearls, gold, ſilver, and all worldly pleaſures; *They ſhall ſoon be cut down like the graſſe, and wither as the green herb, Pſal.* 37. 2. And though their great Maſter and Cardinall *Bellarmine* make outward happineſſe and flouriſhing a marke and note of a true Church and Congregation of Gods people; and of my ſelf I could ſay with *David* in the 73. *Pſal.* 2,3. when I lived blindly amongſt them, *My feet were almoſt gone, my feet had well-nigh ſlipt; for I was envious at the fooliſh, when I ſaw the proſperity of the wicked*; yet now being enlightned in a more ſure and certain truth, I will conclude of them, as *David* of the flouriſhing wicked men of his time in the ſame Chapter the 16, 17, 18. *v. When I thought to know this, it was too painfull for me, untill I went into the Sanctuary of God, then underſtood I their end. Surely thou didſt ſet them in ſlippery places; thou calleſt them down to deſtruction.* And I doubt not but the flouriſhing of *Mexico* in coaches, horſes, ſtreets, women, and apparell is very ſlippery, and will make thoſe proud inhabitans ſlip and fall into the power and dominion of ſome other Prince of this world, and hereafter in the world to come, into the powerfull hands of an angry Judge, who is the King of Kings and Lord of Lords, which *Paul* ſaith *Heb.* 10. 31. *is a fearfull* thing. For this City doth not only flouriſh in the wayes aforeſaid, but alſo in their ſuperſtitious worſhipping of God and Saints, they exceed *Rome* it ſelf, and all other places of Chriſtendome. And it is a thing which I have very much and carefully obſerved in all my travailes both in *Europe* and *America*, that in thoſe Cities wherein there is moſt lewd licentiouſneſſe of life, there is alſo moſt coſt in the Temples, and moſt publick ſuperſtitious worſhipping of God and of the Saints.

It ſeems that religion teacheth that all wickedneſſe is allowable, ſo the Churches and Clergy flouriſh; nay while the purſe is open to laſciviouſneſſe, if it be likewiſe opened to enrich the temple wals and roofes, this is better then any their holy water to waſh away the filth of the other. *Rome* is held to be the head of ſuperſtition; and what ſtately Churches, Chappels, and Cloiſters are in it? what faſtings, what proceſſions, what appearances of devotion? and on the other ſide, what liberty, what profaneneſſe, what whoredomes, nay what ſins of *Sodom* are committed in it? In ſo much that it could be the ſaying of a Fryer to my ſelf while I was in it, that he verily thought there was no one City in the world wherein were more Atheiſts then in *Rome*. I might ſhew this truth in *Madrid*, *Sevill*, *Valadolid*, and other famous Cities in *Spain*, and in *Italy*, in *Millan*, *Genoa* and *Naples*, relating many inſtances of ſcandals

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committed in those places, and yet the Temples mightily enriched by such who have thought those almes a sufficient warrant to free them from hell and Purgatory. But I must return to *Mexico* which is *mille testes* of this truth, sin and wickednesse abounding in it; and yet no such people in the world toward the Church and Clergy, who in their life time strive to exceed one another in their gifts to the Cloisters of Nuns and Fryers; some erecting Altars to their best devoted Saints, worth many thousand thousand duckats, others presenting crowns of gold to the pictures of *Mary*, others lamps, others golden chains, others building Cloisters at their own charge, others repairing them, others at their death leaving to them two or three thousand duckats for an annuall stipend. Among these great Benefactors to the Churches of that City I should wrong my History if I should forget one that lived in my time, called *Alonso Cuellar*, who was reported to have a Closet in his house laid with bars of gold in stead of bricks; though indeed it was not so, but only reported for his abundant riches and store of bars of gold which he had in one chest standing in a closet distant from another, where he had a chest full of wedges of silver. This man alone built a Nunnery of Franciscan Nuns, which stood him in above thirty thousand duckats, and left unto it for the maintenance of the Nuns two thousand duckats yearly, with obligation of some Masses, to be said in the Church every year for his soul after his decease. And yet this mans life was so scandalous, that commonly in the night with two servants he would round the City, visiting such scandalous persons whose attire before hath been described, carrying his beads in his hands, and at every house letting fall a bead, and tying a false knot, that when he came home in the morning towards break of the day he might number by his beades the uncivil stations he had walked and visited that night. But these his works of darknesse came to light, and were published far and near for what happened unto him whilst I was in *Mexico*; for one night meeting at one of his stations with a gentleman that was jealous of him, swords on both sides were drawn, the Concubine first was stabbed by the Gentleman who was better manned and attended; and *Cuellar* (who was but a Merchant) was mortally wounded and left for dead, though afterwards he recovered. Great Almes and liberality towards religious houses in that City commonly are coupled with great and scandalous wickednesse. They wallow in the bed of riches and wealth, and make their Almes the Coverlet to cover their loose and lascivious lives. From hence are the Churches so fairly built and adorned. There are not above fifty Churches and Chappels, Cloisters and Nunneries, and Parish Churches in that City; but those that are there are the faireſt that ever my eyes beheld, the roofes and beams being in many of them all daubed with gold, and many Altars with sundry marble pillars, and others with Brasil wood staies standing one above another with Tabernacles for severall Saints richly wrought with golden colours, so that twenty thousand duckats is a common price of many of them. These cause admiration in the common sort of people, and admiration brings on daily adoration in them to those glorious spectacles and images of Saints; so Satan shewes Christ all the glory of the Kingdomes to entice him to admiration, and then *All these things will I give thee if thou wilt fall down and worship me*, Mat. 4. 8, 9. The Devill will give all the world to be adored.

Besides these beautifull buildings, the inward riches belonging to the Altars are infinite in price and value, such as Copes, Canopies, hangings, Altar clothes, Candlesticks, Jewels belonging to the Saints, and crowns of gold and silver, and Tabernacles of gold and Crystall to carry about their Sacrament in Procession, all which would mount to the worth of a reasonable mine of silver, and would be a rich prey for any nation that could make better use of wealth and riches. I will not speak much of the lives of the Fryers and Nuns of that City, but only that there they enjoy more liberty then in the parts of *Europe* (where yet they have too much) and that surely the scandals committed by them do cry up to heaven for vengeance, judgement and destruction.

In my time in the Cloister of the Mercenarian Fryers which is entituled for the Redemption of Captives, there chanced to be an election of a Provinciall to rule over them, to the which all the Priors and heads of the Cloisters about the countrey had resorted, and such was their various and factious difference, that upon the suddain all the Convent was in an uproar, their Canonicall election was turned to mutiny and strife, knives were drawn, many wounded, the scandall and danger of murther so great,

great, that the Viceroy was fain to interpose his authority and to sit amongst them and guard the Cloister untill their Provinciall was elected. It is ordinary for the Fryers to visit their devoted Nuns, and to spend whole daies with them, hearing their musicke, feeding on their sweet meats, and for this purpose they have many chambers which they call *Loquutorios*, to talke in, with wooden bars between the Nuns and them, and in these chambers are tables for the Fryers to dine at; and while they dine, the Nuns recreate them with their voices. Gentlemen and Citizens give their daughters to be brought up in these Nunneries, where they are taught to make all sorts of Conserves and Preserves, all sorts of needlework, all sorts of musick, which is so exquisite in that City, that I dare be bold to say, that the people are drawn to their Churches more for the delight of the musick, then for any delight in the service of God. More, they teach these young children to act like players, and to entice the people to their Churches make these children to act short dialogues in their Quires, richly attiring them with mens and womens apparell, especially upon Midsummer day, and the eight daies before their Christmas, which is so gallantly performed, that many factious strifes, and single combates have been, and some were in my time, for defending which of these Nunneries most excelled in musick, and in the training up of children. No delights are wanting in that City abroad in the world, nor in their Churches, which should be the house of God, and the souls, not the senses delight.

The chief place in the City is the Market place, which though it be not as spacious as in *Montezuma* his time, yet is at this day very fair and wide, built all with Arches on the one side where people may walke dry in time of rain, and there are shops of Merchants furnished with all sorts of stuffes and silks, and before them sit women selling all manner of fruits and herbes; over against these shops and Arches is the Viceroy his palace, which taketh up almost the whole length of the market with the wals of the house and of the gardens belonging to it. At the end of the Viceroy his Palace, is the chief prison which is strong of stone work. Next to this is the beautifull street called *la plateria*, or Goldsmiths-street, where a mans eyes may behold in lesse then an hour many millions worth of gold, silver, pearls and jewels. The street of St. *Austin* is rich and comely, where live all that trade in silkes; but one of the longest and broadest streets is the street called *Tacuba*, where almost all the shops are of Ironmongers, and of such as deal in brasse and steel, which is joyning to those Arches whereon the water is conveyed into the City, and is so called for that it is the way out of the City to a Town called *Tacuba*; and this street is mentioned far and near, not so much for the length and breadth of it, as for a small commodity of needles which are made there, and for proof are the best of all those parts. For stately buildings the street called *del Aquila*, the street of the eagle, exceeds the rest, where live Gentlemen, and Courtiers, and Judges belonging to the Chancery, and is the palace of the Marquesse *del Valle* from the line of *Ferdinando Cortez*; this street is so called from an old Idoll an Eagle of stone which from the conquest lieth in a corner of that street, and is twice so big as *London* stone. The gallants of this City shew themselves daily some on horse-back, and most in Coaches about four of the clock in the afternoon in a pleasant shady field, called *la Alameda*, full of trees and walkes, somewhat like unto our More-fields, where do meet as constantly as the Merchants upon our Exchange about two thousand Coaches, full of Gallants, Ladies, and Citizens, to see and to be seen, to court and to be courted, the Gentlemen having their train of blackmore slaves some a dozen, some half a dozen waiting on them, in brave and gallant Liveries, heavy with gold and silver lace, with silk stockings on their back legs, and roses on their feet, and swords by their sides; the Ladies also carry their train by their Coaches side of such jet-like Damosels as before have been mentioned for their light apparell, who with their bravery and white mantles over them seem to be, as the *Spaniard* saith, *mosca en leche*, a flie in milke. But the train of the Viceroy who often goeth to this place is wonderfull stately, which some say is as great as the train of his Master the King of *Spain*. At this meeting are carried about many sorts of sweetmeats and papers of comfites to be sold, for to relish a cup of cool water, which is cried about in curious glasses to cool the bloud of those love-hot gallants. But many times these their meetings sweetned with conserves and comfits have sowre sawce at the end, for jealousie will not suffer a Lady to be courted, no nor sometimes to be spoken to, but puts fury into the violent hand to draw a sword or dagger and to stab or murther whom he was

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jealous of, and when one sword is drawn thousands are presently drawn, some to right the party wounded or murthered; others to defend the party murthering, whose friends will not permit him to be apprehended, but will guard him with drawn swords untill they have conveyed him to the Sanctuary of some Church, from whence the Viceroy his power is not able to take him for a legall tryall.

Many of these suddain skirmishes happened whileſt I lived about *Mexico*: of which City a whole volume might be compiled, but that by other Authors much hath been written, and I desire not to fill my History with trifles, but only with what is most remarkable in it. I may not omit yet from the situation of it upon a lake to tell that certainly the water hath its passage under all the streets of it; for toward the street of St. *Austin*, and the lower parts of the City, I can confidently aver that in my time before the removing of the Lake those that died were rather drowned then buried, for a grave could not be digged with an ordinary graves depth, but they met with water, and I was eye-witnesse of many thus buried, whose coffins was covered with water. And this is so apparent that had not the Cloister of the *Augustines* often been repaired and almost rebuilt, it had quite sunk by this. In my time it was a repairing, and I saw the old pillars had sunk very low, upon the which they were then laying new foundations, and I was credibly informed that that was the third time that new pillars had been erected upon the old which were quite sunk away. This City hath but three wayes to come unto it by Cawsey; the one is from the West, and that Cawsey is a mile and a half long. Another from the North, and containeth three miles in length. Eastward the City hath no entry; but Southward the Cawsey is five miles long, which was the way that *Cortez* entred into it, when he conquered it.

The fruit called *Nuchtli* (whereof I have spoken before, and some say this City was called *Tenuchtlitan* from it) though it be in most parts of *America*, yea and now in *Spain*, yet in no place there is more abundance of it then in *Mexico*, and it is absolutely one of the best fruits in it. It is like unto the Figge, and so hath many little kernels or grains within, but they are somewhat larger, and crowned like unto a Medler. There are of them of sundry colours, some are green without, and carnation-like within, which have a good taste. Others are yellow, and others white, and some speckled; the best sort are the white; It is a fruit that will last long. Some of them taste of Pears, and other some of Grapes; It is a cold and a fresh fruit and best esteemed in the heat of Summer. The *Spaniards* do more esteeme them then the *Indians*. The more the ground is laboured where they grow, the fruit is so much the better. There is yet another kind of this fruit red, and that is nothing so much esteemed, although his taste is not evill; but because it doth colour and die the eaters mouth, lips and apparell, yea and maketh the Urine look like pure bloud. Many *Spaniards* at their first coming into *India*, and eating this fruit, were amazed and at their wits end, thinking that all the bloud in their bodies came out in Urine; yea and many Physitians at their first coming were of the same belief. And it hath happened when they have been sent for unto such as have eaten this fruit, they not knowing the cause, and beholding the Urine, by and by they have administred medicines to staunch bloud; a thing to laugh at, to see Physitians so deceived. The skin of the outside is thick and full of little small prickles, and when it is cut downright with one cut to the kernels, with one finger you may uncleave the whole skin round about without breaking it, and take out the fruit to eat. The *Spaniards* use to jest with it with strangers, taking half a dozen of them, and rubbing them in a napkin, those small prickles which can scarce be seen or perceived stick invisibly unto the napkin, wherewith a man wiping his mouth to drink, those little prickles stick in his lips so that they seem to sow them up together, and make him for a while faulter in his speech, till with much rubbing and washing they come off. There is another fruit twice of the bignesse of a great warden, which they call the growing *Manjer Blanco*, or white meat, which is a dainty dish made by them with the white of a Capon, Cream, and Rice, and sugar and sweet waters, much like unto the which tasteth this fruit. It is as sweet as any hony, and dissolves like melted snow in the mouth into a juyce most luscious; within, it is full of hard black kernels or stones, which being cracked are bitter, and these not joyned together, but by division one from another, each one having a bag, or little skin discerning them in their ranks and orders, so that when you cut this fruit in the middle it represents a Chequer board with black and white; the white is suckt or eaten and the kernels thrown away.

away. But I cannot forget that which they call *Pinia*, or Pine apple; not the Pine apple of the high Pine tree, but a pine apple, that groweth upon a lower shrub with prickly leaves, and is bigger then our biggest Muskmillians in *England*, when it is ripe; it is yellow without and within; without it is full of little bunches, and within so juycy and cool that nothing more dangerous then to eat much of it. Before they eat it, they cut it in round slices, and lay it a while in salt and water, and so being scoured half an hour in that salt and water which taketh much of the rawnesse and coldnesse from it, and then putting into dishes with more fresh water they eat it thus. But the better way of eating it, is preserved, which is absolutely the best preserve in all that Countrey. There is also the Grape, (though they make not wine of it) the Apple, the Pear, the Quince, the Peach, the Apricock, the Pomegranate, the Muskmillian, the Plantin, the Figge, the Walnut, the Chesnut, the Orange, the Lemmon both sowre and sweet, the Citron in great abundance. Most of the fruits of *Europe*, and as many more which *Europe* never knew. About *Mexico* more then in any other part groweth that excellent tree called *Metl*, which they plant and dresse as they do their Vines in *Europe*. It hath near forty kinds of leaves, which serve for many uses; for when they be tender they make of them Conserves, Paper, Flax, Mantles, Mats, Shooes, girdles, and cordage. On these leaves grow certain prickles so strong and sharpe that they use them in stead of sawes: from the root of this tree cometh a juyce like unto syrup, which being sod will become Sugar. You may also make of it Wine and Vineger. The *Indians* often become drunke with it. The rind rosted healeth hurts and sores, and from the top boughs issueth a gumme, which is an excellent antidote against poyson. There is nothing in *Mexico* and about it wanting which may make a City happy; and certainly had those that have so much extolled with their pens the parts of *Granada* in *Spain*, *Lombardy* and *Florence* in *Italy*, making them the earthly Paradise, had they been acquaited with the new World and with *Mexico*, they would have recanted their untruths.

Oh that the Lord were truly worshipped where he hath powred forth the treasures of his goodnesse for the children of men! Oh that in that *Eden* the tempting and entising Serpent were not so much obeyed in the use of the fair seeming Apple of pleasures, and the Lord that hath enriched it with such varieties so much neglected! How long O Lord God, how long shall the line of the wicked flourish, and the best portion be fallen to Idolaters and to the workers of iniquity!

This City is the seat of an Archbishop, and of a Viceroy, who commonly is some great Noble man of *Spain*, whose power is to make Lawes and Ordinances, to give directions and determine controversies, unlesse it be in such great causes, which are thought fit to be referred to the Councell of *Spain*. And though there be about the Country many governments with severall Governours, yet they are all subordinate to this Viceroy, and there are at least four hundred leagues of land all governed by the Princely seat of *Mexico*. Most of the Governours about the Country being the Viceroy his Creatures, placed by him, do contribute great gifts and bribes for their preferment; so likewise do all the rest whose right or wrong proceedings depend upon the Viceroy his clemency and mercy in judging the dayly appeals of Justice which come unto him. The King of *Spain* allowes him out of his Exchequer yearly a hundred thousand duckats whilest he governs; his time being but five years. But commonly with their bribes to the Courtiers of *Spain*, and to the Counsellours for the Estate of the *India's* they get a prorogation of five years more, and sometimes of ten. It is incredible to think what this Viceroy may get a year in that place besides his hundred thousand duckats of rent, if he be a man covetous and given to trading, (as most of them are) for then they will be Masters of what commodities they please, and none else shall deal in them but themselves; as did the Marquesse of *Serralvo* in my time, who was the best Monopolist of salt that ever those parts knew. This man was thought to get a Million a year, what with gifts and presents, what with his Trading to *Spain* and *Philippinas*. He governed ten years, and in this time he sent to the King of *Spain* a *Popingay* worth half a Million, and in one year more he sent the worth of a Million to the Count of *Olivares*, and other Courtiers to obtain a prorogation for five years more. Besides the Viceroy there are commonly six Judges and a Kings Attorney, who are allowed out of the Kings Exchequer yearly twelve thousand duckats a piece rent, besides two *Alcaldes de Corte*, or high Justices, who with the Viceroy judge all Chancery and criminall causes. But these (though united to-

gether they may oppoſe the Viceroy in any unlawfull and unjuſtifiable action, as ſome have done and have ſmarted for it, yet commonly they dare not. So that he doth what he liſteth, and it is enough for him to ſay, *ſtat pro ratione voluntas.* This power joyned with covetouſneſſe in the Viceroy, and threeſcore thouſand duckats yearly, joyned with pride in the Arch-biſhop, was like to be the ruine of that City in the year 1624. Then was the Count of *Gelves* Viceroy, and *Don Alonſo de Zerna* Arch-biſhop, whoſe two powers ſtriving and ſtriking at one another like two flints, had almoſt brought to combuſtion that gallant City, and did ſet on fire the Viceroy his Palace, and the priſon joyning to it.

The ſtory was thus, which may be profitable for other nations, to beware of covetous governours and proud Prelates; and therefore I thought fit to inſert it here. The Count of *Gelves* was in ſome things one of the beſt Viceroys and Governours that ever the Court of *Spain* ſent to *America*, for he was called by the *Spaniards, el terrible Juſticiero, y fuego de Ladiones*, that is, terrible for Juſtice, and fire to conſume all theeves. For he cleared all the high wayes of theeves, hanging them as often as they were caught without mercy, and did ſend out troops and officers to apprehend them, ſo that it was generally reported that ſince the conqueſt unto thoſe dayes of his there had never been ſo many theeves and malefactors hanged up as in his time. So in all other points of juſtice he was ſevere and upright. But yet covetouſneſſe did ſo blind him to ſee his own injuſtice, that before he could ſee it, he had brought the City of *Mexico* and the whole Kingdome to a danger of rebellion. What he would not to be ſeen in himſelf, he acted by others his inſtruments. And one of them was one *Don Pedro Mexia*, a mighty rich Gentleman of *Mexico*, whom he choſe to joyne with him in monopolizing all the *Indian* Maiz, and wheat about the Country. *Don Pedro Mexia* of the *Indians* bought at the price he liſt their Maiz, and the wheat of the *Spaniards* he bought it according to that price at which it is taxed by the law of that land to be ſold at in time of famine; which is at fourteen Rials a buſhell, (which is not much there conſidering the abundance of gold and ſilver) at which price the Farmers and husbandmen knowing it to be a plentifull year were glad and willing to ſell unto him their wheat, not knowing what the end would be, and others fearing to gainſay him, whom they knew to be the Viceroyes favorite. Thus *Don Pedro Mexia* filled all his barns which he had hired about the Countrey, and himſelf and the Viceroy became owners of all the wheat. He had his officers appointed to bring it into the Markets upon his warning, and that was when ſome ſmall remnants that had eſcaped his fingers were ſold, and the price raiſed. Then hoiſed he his price, and doubled it above what it had coſt him. The poor began to complain, the rich to murmure, the taxe of the law was moved in the Court of Chancery before the Viceroy. But he being privy to the Monopoly expounded the law to be underſtood in time of famine, and that he was informed, that it was a plentifull year as ever had been, and that to his knowledge there was as much brought into the Markets as ever had been, and plenty enough for *Mexico* and all the Countrey. Thus was the law ſlighted, the rich mocked, the poor oppreſſed, and none ſold wheat but *Don Pedro Mexia* his officers for himſelf and the Viceroy. When Juſtice would be no father, the people go to their mother the Church; and having underſtood the buſineſſe better, and that it was *Don Pedro Mexia*, who did tyrannize and oppreſſe them with the Viceroy his favour, they intreat the Archbiſhop to make it a caſe of Conſcience, and to reduce it to a Church cenſure. *Don Alonſo de Zerna* the Archbiſhop, who had alwayes ſtomached *Don Pedro Mexia* and the Viceroy, to pleaſe the people, granted to them to excommunicate *Don Pedro Mexia*, and ſo ſent out bils of excommunication to be fixed upon all the Church dores againſt *Don Pedro*; who not regarding the excommunication, and keeping cloſe at home, and ſtill ſelling his wheat, raiſing higher the price then it was before; the Archbiſhop raiſed his cenſure higher againſt him, adding to it a Bill of *Ceſſatio à divinis*, that is, a ceſſation from all divine ſervice. This Cenſure is ſo great with them, that it is never uſed but for ſome great mans ſake, who is contumacious and ſtubborn in his wayes, contemning the power of the Church. Then are all the Church dores ſhut up, (let the City be never ſo great) no Maſſes are ſaid, no prayers uſed, no preaching permitted, no meetings allowed for any publick devotion or calling upon God. Their Church mournes as it were, and makes no ſhew of ſpirituall joy and comfort, nor of any communion of prayers one with another, ſo long as the party continues ſtubborn and rebellious in his ſinne and ſcandall, and in yeelding to

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the Churches cenſure. And further whereas by this ceſſation *à divinis*, many Churches and eſpecially Cloiſters ſuffer in the means of their livelihood, who live upon what is dayly given for the Maſſes they ſay, and in a Cloiſter where thirty or forty Prieſts ſay Maſſe, ſo many pieces of Eight or crowns in *Mexico* do dayly come in; therefore this cenſure or *ceſſatio à divinis* is ſo inflicted upon the whole Church (al ſuffering for it as they ſay in ſpirituall, and ſome in temporall wayes) that the party offending or ſcandalizing, for whoſe ſake this curſe is laid upon all, is bound to ſatisfie all Prieſts and Cloiſters which in the way aforeſaid ſuffer, and to allow them ſo much out of his means, as they might have dayly got by ſelling away their Maſſes for ſo many crowns for their dayly livelihood. To this would the Archbiſhop have brought *Don Pedro Mexia*, to have empti-ed out of his purſe near a thouſand crowns dayly, towards the maintenance of about a thouſand Prieſts (ſo many there may be in *Mexico*) who from the Altar ſell away their bread-God to ſatisfie with bread and food their hungry ſtomachs. And ſecondly by the peoples ſuffering in their ſpirituall comfort, & non-communion of prayers and idolatrous worſhip, he thought to make *Don Pedro Mexia* odious to the people. *Don Pedro* perceiving the ſpitefull intents of the Archbiſhop, and hearing the outcries of the people in the ſtreets againſt him, and their cries for the uſe and liberty of their Churches, ſecretly retired himſelf to the Palace of the Viceroy, begging his favour and protection, for whoſe ſake he ſuffered. The Viceroy immediately ſent out his Orders, commanding the bils of excommunication and ceſſation *à divinis* to be pulled from the Church dores, and to all the Superiors of the Cloiſters to ſet open their Churches, and to celebrate their ſervice and Maſſes as formerly they had done. But they diſobeying the Viceroy through blind obedience to their Archbiſhop, the Viceroy commanded the Archprelate to revoke his cenſures. But his anſwer was that what he had done, had been juſtly done againſt a publick offender and great oppreſſor of the poor, whoſe cries had moved him to commiſerate their ſuffering condition, and that the offenders contempt of his firſt excommunication had deſerved the rigour of the ſecond cenſure; neither of the which he would nor could revoke untill *Don Pedro Mexia* had ſubmitted himſelf to the Church and to a publick abſolution, and had ſatisfied the Prieſts and Cloiſters who ſuffered for him, and had diſclaimed that unlawfull and unconſcionable Monopolie, wherewith he wronged the whole common-wealth, and eſpecially the poorer ſort therein.

Thus did that proud Prelate arrogantly in termes exalt himſelf againſt the authority of his Prince and Ruler, contemning his command with a flat deniall, thinking himſelf happy in imitating *Ambroſe* his ſpirit againſt the Emperour *Theodoſius*, truſting in the power of his keyes, and in the ſtrength of his Church and Clergy, which with the rebellion of the meaner ſort he reſolved to oppoſe againſt the power and ſtrength of his Magiſtrate. The Viceroy not brooking this ſawcy anſwer from a Prieſt, commanded him preſently to be apprehended and to be guarded to St. *John de Ulhua*, and there to be ſhipped for *Spain*. The Archbiſhop having notice of this the Viceroy his reſolution, retired himſelf out of *Mexico* to *Guadalupe* with many of his Prieſts and Prebends, leaving a bill of excommunication upon the Church dores againſt the Viceroy himſelf, and thinking privily to flie to *Spain* there to give an account of his carriage and behaviour. But he could not flie ſo faſt, but the Viceroy his care and vigilancy ſtill eyed him, and with his Serjeants and Officers purſued him to *Guadalupe*. Which the Archbiſhop underſtanding, he betook himſelf to the ſanctuary of the Church, and there cauſed the candles to be lighted upon the Altar, and the ſacrament of his Bread-God to be taken out of the Tabernacle, and attiring himſelf with his Pontificall veſtiments, with his Mitre on his head, his Crozier in one hand, in the other he took his God of bread, and thus with his train of Prieſts about him at the Altar, he waited for the coming of the Serjeants and Officers, whom he thought with his God in his hand, and with a Here I am, to aſtoniſh and amaze, and to make them as Chriſt the Jewes in the garden, to fall backwards, and to diſable them from laying hands upon him. The Officers coming into the Church went towards the Altar where the Biſhop ſtood, and kneeling down firſt to worſhip their God made a ſhort prayer; which being ended, they propounded unto the Biſhop with courteous and fair words the cauſe of their coming to that place, requiring him to lay down the Sacrament; and to come out of the Church, and to hear the notification of what orders they brought unto him in the Kings name. To whom the Archbiſhop replied, that whereas their

Maſter the Viceroy was excommunicated he looked upon him as one out of the pale of the Church, and one without any power, or authority to command him in the houſe of God, and ſo required them as they tendered the good of their ſouls to depart peaceably, and not to infringe the priviledges and immunity of the Church, by exerciſing in it any legall act of ſecular power and command; and that he would not go out of the Church, unleſſe they durſt take him and the Sacrament together. With this the head officer named *Tiroll*, ſtood up and notified unto him an order in the Kings name to apprehend his perſon in what place ſoever he ſhould find him, and to guard him to the Port of St. *John de Ulhua*, and there to deliver him to whom by further order he ſhould be directed there, to be ſhipped for *Spain* as a Traitour to the Kings crown, a troubler of the common peace, an author and mover of ſedition in the Common-wealth. The Arch-biſhop ſmiling upon *Tiroll* anſwered him, Thy Maſter uſeth too high termes and words, which do better agree unto himſelf; for I know no mutiny or ſedition like to trouble the Common-wealth, unleſſe it be by his and *Don Pedro Mexia* his oppreſſing of the poor. And as for thy guarding me to St. *John de Ulhua*, I conjure thee by Jeſus Chriſt, whom thou knoweſt I hold in my hands, not to uſe here any violence in Gods houſe, from whoſe Altar I am reſolved not to depart; take heed God puniſh thee not as he did *Jeroboam* for ſtretching forth his hand at the Altar againſt the Prophet, let his withered hand reminde thee of thy duty. But *Tiroll* ſuffered him not to ſquander away the time and ravell it out with further preaching, but called to the Altar a Prieſt, whom he had brought for that purpoſe, and commanded him in the Kings name to take the Sacrament out of the Arch-biſhops hand; which the Prieſt doing, the Arch-biſhop unveſted himſelf of his Pontificals, and (though with many repetitions of the Churches immunity) yeelded himſelf unto *Tiroll*, and taking his leave of all his Prebends, requiring them to be witneſſes of what had been done, he went priſoner to St. *John de Ulhua*, where he was delivered to the cuſtody of the Governour of the Caſtle, and not many dayes after was ſent in a ſhip prepared for that purpoſe to *Spain* to the King and Councell, with a full charge of all his carriages and miſdemeanours. Some of the City of *Mexico* in private began to talke ſtrangely againſt the Viceroy, and to ſtomach the baniſhment of their Arch-biſhop, becauſe he had ſtood out againſt ſo high a power in defence of the poor and oppreſſed, and theſe their private grudges they ſoon vented in publick with bold and arrogant ſpeeches againſt *Don Pedro Mexia*, and the Viceroy, being ſet on and incouraged by the Prieſts and Prebends, who it ſeems had ſworn blind obedience to their Arch-Prelate, and therewith thought they could diſpenſe with their conſciences in their obedience and duty to their Magiſtrate. Thus did thoſe Incendiaries for a fortnight together blow the fire of ſedition and rebellion, eſpecially amongſt the inferiour ſort of people and the Criolians or native *Spaniards*, and the *Indians* and Mulatto's, whom they knew brooked not the ſevere and rigorous juſtice and judgment of the Viceroy, no nor any Governmenc that was appointed over them from *Spain*; untill at the fortnights end, *Tiroll* returned from St. *John do Ulhua*; and then began the ſpite and malice of all the malecontents to break out, then began a fire of mutiny to be kindled, which was thought would have conſumed and buried in aſhes that great and famous City. *Tiroll* was not a little jealous of what miſchief the common rabble intended againſt him, and ſo kept cloſe, not daring to walke the ſtreets; yet his occaſions inviting him to the Viceroy his Palace, ventured himſelf in a Coach with drawn curtains, which yet could not blind the eyes of the ſpightfull and malicious and male-contents, who had notice that he was in the Coach, and before he could get to the market place, three or four boyes began to cry out, *Judas*, *Judas*, *alla va Judas*, there goeth *Judas* that laid his hands upon Chriſts Vicar; others joyned with them ſaying, *ahorquemos a eſte Judas*, let us hang up this *Judas*; the number of boyes yet increaſed, crying aloud and boldly after the Coach, *Muera el Vellaco deſcomulgado la muerte de Judas, muera el picaro, muera el perro*, let this excommunicated rogue and dog die the death of *Judas*; the Coachman laſhed the mules, the Coach poſted, the boyes haſted after with ſtones and dirt, the number increaſed ſo, that before *Tiroll* could get through two ſtreets only, there were riſen above two hundred boyes, of *Spaniards*, *Indians*, *Blackmores*, and Mulatto's. With much adoe *Tiroll* got to the Viceroy his Palace, poſting for his life, and his firſt care was to wiſh the Porters to ſhut all the Palace gates: for he was fearfull of what preſently happened, of a more generall inſurrection and uproar. For

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no sooner was he got into the Viceroy his house, and the gates shut up, but there were gathered to the Market place (as I was credibly informed by those that saw and observed diligently that dayes trouble) above two thousand people, all of inferiour rank and quality; and yet the number still increased till they were judged to be about six or seven thousand. They all cryed out for *Tiroll* the *Judas*, sparing neither stones nor dirt which they did fling at the Palace windowes.

The Viceroy sent a message to them desiring them to be quiet, and to betake themselves to their houses, certifying them that *Tiroll* was not in his Palace, but escaped out of a back door. The rude multitude would not be satisfied with this, being now set on by two or three Priests who were joyned with them, and so they began more violently to batter the Palace gates and wals, having brought pikes and holbards, and long poles; others had got a few Pistols and birding Pieces, wherewith they shot, not caring whom they killed or wounded in the Palace. It was wonderfull to see that none of the better sort, none of the Judges, no high Justice, no inferiour Officers durst or would come out to suppresse the multitude, or to assist the Viceroy being in so great danger; nay I was told by some shopkeepers who lived in the Market place, that they made a laughing businesse of it, and the people that passed by went smiling and saying, Let the boyes and youngsters alone, they will right our wrongs, they will finde out before they have done, both *Tiroll* and *Mexia* and him that protects them, meaning the Viceroy; but amongst them was much noted one Priest, name *Salazar*, who spent much shot and bullets, and more his spirits in running about to spie some place of advantage, which he might soonest batter down. They found it seems the Prison doores easier to open, or else with helpe within they opened them, and let out all the malefactors, who joyned with them to assault the Palace. The Viceroy seeing no help came to him from the City, from his friends, from the Judges of the Chancery, from the Kings high Justices, nor other officers for the peace, went up to the *Zoties* of his Palace with his Guard and Servants that attended on him, and set up the Royall Standard, and caused a Trumpet to be sounded to call the City to aide and assist their King. But this prevailed not, none stirred, all the chief of the City kept within doores. And when the multitude saw the Royall Standard out, and heard the Kings name from the *Zoties*, they cryed out, and often repeated it, *Viva el Rey, muera el mal govierno, mueran los des comulgados*, that is to say, Our King live long, but let the evill government die, and perish, and let them die that are excommunicated. These words saved many of them from hanging afterwards, when the businesse was tried and searched into by *Don Martin de Carrillo*. And with these words in their mouths they skirmished with them of the *Zoties* at least three hours, they above hurling down stones, and they beneath hurling up to them and some shooting with a few Pistols and birding Pieces at one another: and marke that in all this bitter skirmish there was not a piece of Ordinance shot, for the Viceroy had none for the defence of his Palace or Person, neither had or hath that great City any for its strength and security, the *Spaniards* living fearlesse of the *Indians*, and (as they think) secure from being annoyed by any forain Nation. There were slain in about six houres in all that this tumult lasted, seven or eight beneath in the Market place, and one of the Viceroy his Guard and a Page in the *Zoties* above. The day drawing to an end, the multitude brought Pitch and fire, and first fired the Prison, then they set on fire part of the Palace, and burnt down the chief gate. This made some of the City, of the Gentry, and of the Judges to come out, lest the fire should prevail far upon the City, and to perswade the people to desist, and to quench the fire. Whilest the fire was quenching, many got into the Palace, some fell upon the Viceroyes stables, and there got part of his mules and horses rich furnitures, others began to fall upon some chests, others to tear down the hangings, but they were soon perswaded by the better sort of the City, to desist from spoil or robbery, lest by that they should be discovered; others searched about for *Don Pedro Mexia*, for *Tiroll* and the Viceroy. None of them could be found, having disguised themselves and so escaped. Whither *Don Pedro Mexia* and *Tiroll* went, it could not be known in many dayes; but certain it was that the Viceroy disguised himself in a Franciscan habit, and so in company of a Fryer went through the multitude to the Cloister of the Franciscans, where he abode all that year, (and there I saw him the year after) not daring to come out, untill he had informed the King and Councell of *Spain*;

with what hath happened, and of the danger himself and the City was in, if not timely prevented. The King and Councell of *Spain* took the businesse to consideration, and looked upon it as a warning piece, to a further mutiny and rebellion, and an example to other parts of *America* to follow upon any such like occasion, if some punishment were not inflicted upon the chief offenders. Wherefore the year following 1625. which was when I went to those parts, the King sent a new Viceroy the Marques of *Sarralvo* to govern in the place of the Count of *Gelves*, and especially to aid and assist *Don Martin de Carrillo*, a Priest and Inquisitor of the Inquisition of *Valladolid*, who was sent with large Commission and authority to examine the foresaid tumult and mutiny, and to judge all offenders that should be found in it, yea and to hang up such as should deserve death. I was at *Mexico* in the best time of the tryall, and had intelligence from *Don Martin de Carrillo* his own Ghostly father a Dominican Fryer of the chief passages in the examination of the businesse; and the result was, that if Justice should have been executed rightly, most of the prime of *Mexico* would have suffered, for not coming in to the Royall Standard, when called by the sound of the Trumpet; the Judges some were put out of their places, though they answered that they durst not stir out, for that they were informed that all the City would have risen against them if they had appeared in publick. The chief actors were found to be the Criolians or Natives of the Country, who do hate the *Spanish* Government, and all such as come from *Spain*; and reason they have for it, for by them they are much oppressed, as I have before observed, and are and will be alwayes watching any opportunity to free themselves from the *Spanish* yoake. But the chief fomenters of the mutiny were found to be the Bishops party the Priests; and so had not *Salazar* and three more of them fled, they had certainly been sent to the Gallies of *Spain* for Gally slaves; this judgment was published against them. There were not above three or four hanged of so many thousands, and their condemnation was for things which they had stolen out of the Viceroys Palace. And because further inquiry into the rebellion would have brought in at least half the City either for actors, or counsellors, or fomentors, the King was well advised to grant a generall pardon. The Archbishops proceedings were more disliked in the Court of *Spain*, then the Viceroyes, and was long without any preferment; though, at last that there might be no exceptions taken by his party, nor cause given for a further stirring the embers to a greater combustion, the Councell thought fit to honour him in those parts where he was born; and to make him Bishop of *Zamora* a small Bishoprick in *Castile*; so that his wings were clipt, and from Archbishop he came to be but Bishop, and from threescore thousand Crownes yearly rent he fell to four or five thousand only a year. The Count of *Gelves* was also sent to *Spain*, and well entertained in the Court, and therein made Master of the Kings horse, which in *Spain* is a Noblemans preferment.

And this History shewing the state and condition of *Mexico*, when I travelled to those parts I have willingly set down, that the Reader may by it be furnished with better observations then my self (who am but a Neophyte) am able to deduct. Somewhat might be observed from the Viceroyes covetousnesse; which doubtlesse in all is a great sinne, for as *Paul* well adviseth, 1 *Tim.* 6. 10. *The love of mony is the root of all evill*; but much more to be condemned in a Prince or Governour; whom it may blind in the exercise of Justice and Judgment, and harden those tender bowels (which ought to be in him) of a father and shepheard to his flock and children. We may yet from this Viceroyes practice and example against a chief head of the *Romish* Church, discover that errour of the Priests and Jesuites of *England*, who perswade the people here that no temporall Magistrate hath power over them, and that to lay hands on them in wrath and anger (being as they say Consecrated to God and his Altar) is *ipso facto* a deep excommunication; whereas we see the contrary in this Viceroy a member of the Church of *Rome*, and yet exercising his temporall power against an Arch-bishop, and by *Tirell* taking him from the Church, and as his prisoner sending him with just wrath and anger to a forain and remote place of banishment. But lastly it is my desire that the High and Honourable Court of Parliament which now is sitting for the good of this Kingdome, and for the good of it hath already pulled down the Hierarchy of such Prelates and Archprelates, would look upon the trouble and uproar which the keys of the Church in the hand of an undiscreet Priest

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brought upon that City of *Mexico*. Certainly as the ſtrength of the Church well ſetled, and governed with ſubordination to the Magiſtrate, is likewiſe the ſtrength of the Common-wealth; ſo on the other ſide the power of the keyes in the Clergies hand, to caſt out what inceſtuous *Corinthian* they pleaſe, without the reſt of the *Corinchians* conſent, 1 *Cor.* 5. 4, 5. may prove dangerous and troubleſome to the Common-weale and good. For if the Clergy may uſe by it ſelf, without the overſeeing eye of the Magiſtrates Commiſſioners, the power of the keyes; who ſhall be free from their cenſures, that any way will oppoſe them? The poor and ignorant will not only be the object of their cenſures, but the rich, and wiſe, and noble, Ruler and Magiſtrate will alſo come under their cenſures; wherein I finde a Miniſter may then as a Pope encroach upon the higheſt Crown of an Emperour. Nay certainly in *England* the thoughts of ſome ſuch aſpiring Miniſters have been higher then the thoughts of this Archbiſhop of *Mexico* over a Viceroy, the conceit of their power with the Keyes have hoiſed them above their Prince, for I have heard one of them ſay, he knew not but that by the power of the keyes he might as well excommunicate the King as any other private perſon. This conceit hath made the Pope of *Rome* fear no earthly Prince, Emperour, Ruler or Magiſtrate; nay this hath made him to be feared, and reſpected, and honoured by Kings and Princes; and why may not the ſame power in the hands of a Proteſtant Clergy, make the meaneſt and the higheſt to fear and dread them? But ſome will ſay, the Word of God being the Touchſtone wherewith they are to try what points may be the ſubjects of their cenſures, by ſuch a light and guidance they are not like to erre. But they then being themſelves the Judges of the ſenſe and meaning of the Word, who ſhall oppoſe their judgment, and their enſuing cenſures? What if to their triall and judgment they ſhall bring any Law enacted by a High Court of Parliament, and ſhall judge it not according to the Word of God, and ſo preſſe it to the peoples conſciences; threatning with their cenſures ſuch as ſhall obey it? in ſuch a caſe how may the power of the keyes unlock and open a door to the people of rebellion againſt their lawfull Magiſtrates? Oh what dangers may befall a Common-wealth, when thus the Clergy ſhall ſtand over poor and rich, Subject and Magiſtrate, as *Peters* ſtatue at *Rome*, with Croſſe-keyes in his hand? What a rebellion did the Archbiſhop of *Mexico* cauſe by excommunicating *Don Pedro Mexia* firſt, and then the Viceroy? and how did the people fear his keyes more then their Viceroys temporall power and authority, ſiding with him againſt ſuch as he had excommunicated? What troubles did that Doctor *Smith* Biſhop of *Chalcedon* bring among the Papiſts, ſmall and great ones, not long agoe here in *England*, laying upon them by the power of the Keyes a cenſure of Excommunication, if they confeſſed to, or did entertain and hear the Maſſe of any, that had not derived their authority from him? Then were they in open rebellion one againſt another; the ſecular Prieſts againſt the Monkes, Fryers, and Jeſuites, and the Laity all troubled, ſome ſiding with one, and ſome with another, untill Doctor *Smith* having thus kindled the fire, was fain to leave it burning, and to betake himſelf to *Paris*, and from thence to foment the diſſenſion which with power of the Keyes he had cauſed here.

Oh ſurely the Church ſo far is a good Mother, as it allowes a Magiſtrate to be a Father. And great comfort have thoſe that live within the pale of the Church, to know that they have the Magiſtrate a Father to flye unto in their preſſures and diſcomforts.

I muſt ingenuouſly confeſſe that one main point that brought me from the Church of *Rome*, was the too too great power of the Keyes in the Popes, Biſhops, and Prieſts hands, who ſtudying more ſelf Policy, then common Policy, look upon the people, and with their power deal with them more as their ſubjects, then as politicall Members in a Common-wealth, rending and tearing them dayly by their cenſures from that common and Politicall body to which they belong, without any hopes of care to be had of them by their Magiſtrate and Politicall head and Governour. And I hope I ſhall not have fled from Antichriſt who exalteth himſelf as head of the Church, and from that power hath his influence over all State and Politicall Heads and Rulers; to finde in a Proteſtant Church any of his ſpirit, making a diſtinction of a ſpirituall and temporall head, forgetting the only head Chriſt Jeſus; which were it once granted, as the ſpirit is more noble then the body, ſo would the inference ſoon be made, that they that are over the ſpirit, are higher in power then they that are over the body; which concluſion would ſoon bring *Mexicoes* troubles among Proteſtants. Experience

ence in all my travails by sea and land, in most parts of *Europe* and of *America*, hath ever taught me, that where the Clergy hath been too much exalted and enjoyed power over the people, there the Common-wealth hath soon fallen into heavy pressures and troubles. And let not this my observation seem strange as coming from a Minister, for I have learned from Christ, *Matth.* 20. 25, 26, 27. *That the Princes of the Gentiles exercise Dominion, and they that are great exercise authority. But it shall not be so among you, but Whosoever will be great among you, let him be your Minister; and Whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your Servant.*

I hope the High Court of Parliament will so settle the Church and State here that this shall not fear any further troubles from that; and that we who have our portion from the one, may be Ministers and Servants under the Commissioners of the other. And thus largely I have described the State and condition of *Mexico* in the time of *Montezuma*, and since his death the manner and proportion of it, with the troubled condition I found it in when I went thither, by reason of a mutiny and rebellion caused by an Archbishop the year before. I shall now come out of *Mexico*, and present unto you the places most remarkable about it; and from thence the severall parts and Countries of *America*, before I betake my self to the journey which I made from *Mexico* to *Guatemala* lying nine hundred *English* miles Southward, and from thence yet to *Costarica*, and *Nicoya*, being nine hundred miles further toward the South.

Chap. XII.

Shewing the severall parts of this new World of America; *and the places of note about the famous City of* Mexico.

Although my travailes by Sea and Land in *America* were not above three or four thousand miles (which is not the fift part of it, if exactly compassed) yet for the better compleating of this my work; I thought fit to inlarge my self to a full division of the many and sundry parts thereof, here first in generall; and hereafter more in particular of those parts wherein I lived twelve years, and of those which I more exactly noted and observed as I travailed and passed through them. The chief division therefore of this greatest part of the World, is twofold only, to wit, the *Mexicans*, and the *Peruan* parts, which contain many great and sundry Provinces and Countries, some as big as our whole Kingdome of *England*. But *Mexico* giving name to half *America*, is now called *Nova Hispania*, *new Spain*, from whence the Kings of *Spain* do style themselves *Hispaniarum Reges*. The *Mexican* part containeth chiefly the Northern Tract, and comprehendeth these Provinces hitherto known and discovered, to wit, *Mexico*, *Quivira*, *Nicaragua*, *Jucatan*, *Florida*, *Virginia*, *Norumbega*, *Nova Francia*, *Corterialis*, and *Estetilandia*. The compasse of this part of *America* is thirteen thousand miles. The *Peruan* part containeth all the Southern Tract, and is tyed to the *Mexican* by the *Isthmus* or strait of *Darien*, being no more then 17. or as others say, in the narrowest place but 12. miles broad from the North to the South Sea. And many have mentioned to the Councell of *Spain*, the cutting of a Navigable Channell through this small *Isthmus*, so to shorten the Voiage to *China*, and the *Moluccoes*. But the Kings of *Spain* have not as yet attempted to do it, some say lest in the work he should lose those few *Indians* that are left (would to God it were so that they were and had been so carefull and tender of the poor *Indians* lives, more populous would that vast and spacious Country be at this day:) but others say he hath not attempted that great work, lest the passage by the Cape *Bona Esperanza* good hope, being left off, those Seas might become a receptacle of Pirates. However this hath not been attempted by the *Spaniards*, they give not for reason any extraordinary great charge, for that would soon be recompensed with the speedy and easie conveying that way the Commodities from South to North Seas. This *Peruan* part of *America* containeth these Countries, or Kingdomes, to wit, *Castella aurea*, *Guiana*, *Peru*, *Brasil*, *Chille*; and the compasse of it is seventeen thousand miles. I shall not speak distinctly of all these parts, which better writers, and of more knowledge

HISPANIA NOVA
MAR DEL ZUR
Septentrio
Meridies
Occidens
Orientis
Guachichiles
His montibus maxima argenti copia effoditur
Cacatequas
Chichimicas
Magalia Hispanorum
Magalia Hispanorum ubi armenta pascuntur
Milliaria Germanica
Mexico
Coatalpanecas populi
Sacatula
Catalutla
Texupa
Portus naturalis piscatorius
Zinguluca
Tulasco
Capulalpa
Cacatlan
Tenango
Tochimyeco
Cuernabaca
Tlalmanalco
Chiautla
Tlalmatlan
Fodinæ argenti
Tlapa
Cuyuac
Guaxaca
Guadalaiara
Tecoac
Acatlan
Tecomoru
Xiquian
Mexqaltlan
Malobaque
Coatla n
Amatlan
Tepeque
Michuacan
Guanimor
Cusco
Amocotin
Xocotitla n
Tula
Acasuchitlan
Angelorum
Tenochtitlan
Tlapon
Yeacal
Tecamal
Tecaleo
Chiautla
Tlalmatlan
Fodinæ argenti
Coatalpanecas populi
Catalutla

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ledge have before me diſcovered; and becauſe ſome of them being out of the *Spaniards* reach and dominion, from whom I have received my beſt intelligence, I have from them had little notice of them, nor experience, which indeed I intend to make my beſt guide in this my worke. Therefore to return again to the *Mexican* part, and the Northern Tract; I ſhall fall again upon the firſt and chief member of that diviſion, which I ſaid was *Mexico*. This aboundeth with golden ſanded rivers, in which are many Crocodiles (though not ſo big as thoſe of *Egypt*) which the *Indian* people eat. It glorieth in the mountains *Popochampeche*, and *Popocatepec*, which are of the ſame nature with *Ætna* and *Veſuvius*. Nay all the way South-ward as far as *Leon* in *Nicaragua*, there are many of theſe fiery mountains. But *Popocatepec* is one of the chief of them, which ſignifieth a hill of ſmoake, for many times it caſteth out ſmoake and fire; it ſtandeth eight leagues from *Chololla*; the aſcending up unto it is very troubleſome, and full of craggie rocks. When *Cortez* paſſed that way to *Mexico*, he ſent ten *Spaniards* to view it, with many *Indians* to carry their victuals, and to guide them in the way. They approached ſo nigh the top, that they heard ſuch a terrible noiſe which proceeded from thence, that they durſt not goe unto it, for the ground did tremble and ſhake, and great quantity of aſhes did much diſturb their way. But yet two of them who ſeemed to be moſt hardy, and deſirous to ſee ſtrange things, went up to the top, becauſe they would not return with a ſleeveleſſe anſwer, and that they might not be accounted cowards, leaving their fellowes behind them, proceeded forwards, and paſſed through that deſert of aſhes, and at length came under a great ſmoake very thick, and ſtanding there a while, the darkneſſe vaniſhed partly away, and then appeared the Vulcan and concavity, which is about half a league in compaſſe, out of the which the aire came rebounding with a very great noiſe, very ſhrill and whiſtling, ſo that the whole hill did tremble; it was like unto an oven where glaſſe is made. The ſmoake and heat was ſo great that they could not abide it, and of force were conſtrained to return by the way that they had aſcended. But they were not gone farre, when the Vulcan began to flaſh out flames of fire, aſhes and embers, yea and at the laſt ſtones of burning fire, and if they had not chanced to finde a rock, under which they ſhadowed themſelves, undoubtedly they had there been burned. It is like unto the Vulcan of *Sicilia*, it is high and round, and never wanteth ſnow about ſome part of it. Before the coming of *Cortez* for ten years ſpace it had left of expelling vapour or ſmoake; but in the year 1540. it began again to burn, and with the horrible noiſe thereof, the people that dwelt four leagues from it were terrified; the aſhes that proceeded then from it reached to *Tlaxcallan*, which ſtandeth ten leagues diſtant from it; yea ſome affirme that it extended fifteen leagues diſtant, and burned the herbs in the gardens, the corne in the fields, and clothes that lay a drying. And many ſuch hils and mountains doth this *Mexican* part of *America*, or *new Spain* abound with. The limits of it are on the Eaſt, *Iucatan*, and the gulfe of *Mexico*, on the Weſt *Californio*, on the South the *Peruan* part. The Northern bounds are unknown, ſo that we cannot certainly avow this *America* to be continent, nor certainly affirme it to be an Iſland, diſtinguiſhed from the old world. It was very populous before the arrivall of the *Spaniards*, who in ſeventeen years ſlew ſix millions of them, roaſting ſome, plucking out the eyes, cutting off the armes of others, and caſting them living to be devoured of wilde beaſts. This chief Provice of *America* named *Mexico*, is further ſubdivided into four parts, that is to ſay, *Themiſtitan*, *Nova Galicia*, *Mechoacan*, and *Gauſtachan*. *Themiſtitan* is the greateſt and nobleſt of theſe four; for that it containeth ſix Cities, and of them one is *Mexico*, which giveth name to the half part of *America*, and is the ſeat of an Arch-biſhop, and of the *Spaniſh* Viceroy, whoſe greatneſſe within I have before laid open; the ſecond City is *La Puebla de los Angeles*, the City of Angels, the third *Villaruca*; the fourth *Antiquera*; the fifth *Meccioca*; the ſixth *Ottopan*. But all theſe, excepting the two firſt, are but ſmall places, named Cities formerly, for that the *Spaniards* thought to have made them Biſhops ſeats, which they have not been able to performe, by reaſon that *Mexico* and the City of *Angels* hath drawn to them the chief trading, and moſt of the Inhabitants of the other four. Eſpecially the reſort to *Mexico* is ſo great, that all the Towns about (which formerly were of *Indians*) are now inhabited by *Spaniards* and *Meſtizoes*. I may not omit about *Mexico* that famous place of *Chapultepec*, which in the Heathens times was the burying place of the Emperours; and now by the *Spaniards* is the Eſcuriall of *America*, where the Vicc-

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royes that die are alſo interred. There is a ſumptuous palace built with many fair gardens, and deviſes of waters, and ponds of fiſh, whither the Viceroyes and the Gentry of *Mexico* do reſort for their recreation. The riches here belonging to the Viceroyes Chappell are thought to be worth above a million of crownes.

Tacuba is alſo a pleaſant Town full of orchards and gardens, in the very way to *Chapultepec*. South-ward is *Tolnco*, rich alſo for trading, but above all much mentioned for the Bacon, which is the beſt of all thoſe parts, and is tranſported far and near. Weſt-ward is the Town called *La Piedad*, at the end of a Cawſey, whither the people much reſort from *Mexico*, being drawn to the ſuperſtitious worſhip of a picture of *Mary* which hath been enriched by the chief of *Mexico* with many thouſand pounds worth of gifts of chains, and crowns of gold.

But more Northweſt-ward three leagues from *Mexico* is the pleaſanteſt place of all that are about *Mexico*, called *La Soledad*, and by others *el deſierto*, the ſolitary or deſert place and wilderneſſe. Were all wilderneſſes like it, to live in a wilderneſſe would be better then to live in a City. This hath been a device of poor Fryers named diſcalced, or barefooted Carmelites, who to make ſhew of their hypocriticall and apparent godlineſſe, and that whileſt they would be thought to live like Eremites, retired from the world, they may draw the world unto them; they have built there a ſtately Cloiſter, which being upon a hill and among rocks makes it to be more admired. About the Cloiſter they have faſhioned out many holes and Caves in, under, and among the rocks, like Eremites lodgings, with a room to lie in, and an Oratory to pray in, with pictures, and Images, and rare devices for mortification, as diſciplines of wyar, rods of Iron, hair-cloths, girdles with ſharpe wyar points to girdle about their bare fleſh, and many ſuch like toyes which hang about their Oratories, to make people admire their mortified and holy lives. All theſe Eremeticall holes and caves (which are ſome ten in all) are within the bounds and compaſſe of the Cloiſter) and among orchards and gardens full of fruits and flowers, which may take up two miles compaſſe; and here among the rocks are many ſprings of water, which with the ſhade of the plantins and other trees, are moſt cool and pleaſant to the Eremites; they have alſo the ſweet ſmell of the roſe and jazmin, which is a little flower, but the ſweeteſt of all others; there is not any other flower to be found that is rare and exquiſite in that Country, which is not in that wilderneſſe to delight the ſenſes of thoſe mortified Eremites. They are weekly changed from the Cloiſter, and when their week is ended, others are ſent, and they return unto their Cloiſter; they carry with them their bottles of wine, ſweet-meats, and other proviſion; as for fruits, the trees about do drop them into their mouths. It is wonderfull to ſee the ſtrange deviſes of fountains of water which are about the gardens; but much more ſtrange and wonderfull to ſee the reſort of Coaches, and gallants, and Ladies and Citizens from *Mexico* thither, to walke and make merry in thoſe deſert pleaſures, and to ſee thoſe hypocrites, whom they look upon as living Saints, and ſo think nothing too good for them, to cheriſh them in their deſert conflicts with Satan. None goes to them but carries ſome ſweet-meats, or ſome other dainty diſh to nouriſh and feed them withall; whoſe prayers they likewiſe earneſtly ſolicite, leaving them great almes of mony for their Maſſes; and above all, offering to a picture in their Church, called our Lady of *Carmel*, treaſures of diamonds, pearls, golden chains and crowns, and gownes of cloth of gold and ſilver. Before this picture did hang in my time twenty lamps of ſilver; the worſt of them being worth a hundred pound; truly Satan hath given unto them what he offered Chriſt in the deſert, All theſe things will I give thee if thou wilt fall down and worſhip me; all the dainties and of all the riches of *America* hath he given unto them in that their deſert, for that they dayly fall down and worſhip him. In the way to this place there is another Town yet called *Tacubaya*, where is a rich Cloiſter of Franciſcans, and alſo many gardens and orchards, but above all much reſorted to for the muſick in that Church, wherein the Fryers have made the *Indians* ſo dexterous and skilfull, that they dare compare with the Cathedrall Church of *Mexico*. Theſe were the chief places of mine and my friends reſort, whilſt I abode about *Mexico*, which I found to be moſt worth a Hiſtory, and ſo thought fit here to inſert them, and ſo paſſe on to the other parts or Provinces of *Mexico*.

Next to this is the Province of *Guaſtachan*, which lieth in the rode from St. *John de Ulhua* to *Mexico*, which is not ſo poor as *Heylin* maketh it, for that now it doth abound with many rich farmes of Sugar, and of Cochinil, and reacheth as far as the Valley

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of *Guaxaca* which is a moſt rich place. The chief City of this Province was wont to be *Tlaxcallan*, whereof I have formerly ſpoken; but now the City of *Guaxaca* which is a Biſhops ſeat, and *Xalappa* which is alſo of late made a Biſhops ſeat, makes it more famous. It gloryeth alſo in *Villa Rica* a Port Town very wealthy, becauſe all the traffique betwixt the Old and New *Spains* do paſſe through it. The *Spaniards* have in it two rich Colonies, called *Pamico*, and *St. James* in the valleys. The third Province of *Mexico* is called *Mechoacan*, which containeth in circuite fourſcore leagues. It is alſo an exceeding rich country, abounding in Mulberry trees, ſilk, honey, wax, black-amber, works of divers coloured feathers, moſt rich, rare and exquiſite, and ſuch ſort of fiſh, that from thence it took its name, *Mechuoacan*, which ſignifieth a place of fiſhing.

The language of the *Indians* is moſt elegant and copious, and they tall, ſtrong, active, and of very good wits, as may be ſeen in all their works, but eſpecially in thoſe of feathers, which are ſo curious, that they are preſented for rich preſents to the King and Nobles of *Spain*. The chief City of this Province is *Valladolid* a Biſhops ſeat; and the beſt Towns are *Sinſonte*, which was the reſidence of the Kings of this countrey. There is alſo *Paſcuar* and *Colima* very great Towns inhabited by *Indians* and *Spaniards*. There are alſo two good havens, called St. *Anthony*, and St. *James*, or *Santjago*. This countrey of *Mechoacan* was almoſt as great as the Empire of *Mexico*, when *Cortez* conquered thoſe parts. The King that was then of *Mechoacan* was called *Caconzin*, who was a great friend unto *Cortez*, and a ſervitor to the *Spaniards*, and willingly yeelded himſelf as vaſſall to the King of *Spain*; yet ſuch was the cruelty of *Don Nunio de Guzman*, the firſt Ruler and Preſident of the Chancery of *Mexico* after the conqueſt, that underſtanding he was put out of his office, he took his journey againſt the *Teuchichimecas*, and carried in his company five hundred *Spaniards*, with whom and ſix thouſand *Indians* which by force he took out of *Mechoacan*, he conquered *Xalixco* which is now called the *new Galicia*. And as for this purpoſe he paſſed through *Mechoacan*, he took priſoner the King *Caconzin*, (who was quiet and peaceable and ſtirred not againſt him) and took from him ten thouſand markes of plate, and much gold and other treaſure, and afterwards burned him, and many other *Indian* Gentlemen and principall perſons of that Kingdome, becauſe they ſhould not complain, ſaying that a dead dog biteth not. They were in this Kingdome as ſuperſtitious and idolatrous as in the reſt of *America*. No divorcement was permitted amongſt them, except the party made a ſolemn oath, that they looked not the one on the other ſtedfaſtly and directly at the time of their marriage. In the burying likewiſe of their Kings they were ſuperſtitious, cruell, and Idolatrous. When any King of *Mechoacan* happened to be brought to ſuch extremity of ſickneſſe that hope of life was paſt, then did he name and appoint which of his ſons ſhould inherit the ſtate and Crown, and being known the new King or heir preſently ſent for all the Governours, Captains, and valiant ſouldiers, who had any office or charge, to come unto the buriall of his father, and he that came not, from thenceforth was held for a Traitour, and ſo puniſhed. When the death of the old King was certain, then came all degrees of eſtates, and did bring their preſents to the new King for the approbation of his Kingdome: But if the King were not throughly dead, but at the point of death, then the gates were ſhut in, and none permitted to enter; and if he were throughly dead, then began a generall cry and mourning, and they were permitted to come where their dead King lay, and to touch him with their hands. This being done the carkaſſe was waſhed with ſweet waters, and then a fine ſhirt put upon him, and a payre of ſhooes made of Deer skin put on his feet, and about his anckles were tied bels of gold, about the wriſts of his hands were put bracelets of Turkiſes and of gold likewiſe; about his neck they did hang collars of pretious ſtones and alſo of gold, and rings in his eares, with a great Turkiſe in his nether lip. Then his body was laid upon a large Beer, whereon was placed a good bed under him; on his one ſide lay a bow with a quiver of arrowes, and on his other ſide lay an Image made of fine mantles of his own ſtature or bigneſſe, with a great tuffe of fine feathers, ſhooes upon his feet, with bracelets and a collar of gold. While this was a doing, others were buſied in waſhing the men and women, which ſhould be ſlain for to accompany him into hell. Theſe wretches that were to be ſlain, were firſt banqueted and filled with drink, becauſe they ſhould receive their death with leſſe pain. The new King did appoint thoſe who ſhould die for to ſerve the King his father; and many of thoſe ſimple ſouls eſteemed that death ſo

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odious for a thing of immortall glory. Firſt ſix Gentlewomen of noble birth were appointed to die; the one to have the office of keeper of his jewels, which he was wont to wear; another for the office of cup-bearer; another to give him water with a baſon and Ewer; another to give him alwayes the Urinall; another to be his Cooke; and another to ſerve for Landreſs. They ſlew alſo many women, ſlaves, and free-maidens for to attend upon the Gentlewomen, and moreover one of every occupation within the City. When all theſe that were appointed to die were waſhed, and their bellies full with meat and drinke, then they painted their faces yellow, and put garlands of ſweet flowers upon each of their heads. Then they went in order of proceſſion before the Beere, whereon the dead King was carried; ſome went playing on inſtruments made of Snail ſhels, and others played upon bones and ſhels of Sea Tortois, others went whiſtling, and the moſt part weeping. The Sons of the dead King and other Noble men carried upon their ſhoulders the Beere where the Corpſe lay, and proceeded with an eaſie pace towards the Temple of the God called *Curicaveri*; his kinſmen went round about the Beer ſinging a ſorrowfull ſong. The officers and houſhold-ſervants of the Court, with other Magiſtrates and Rulers of Juſtice bare the Standards and divers other Armes. And about midnight they departed in the order aforeſaid out of the Kings Palace with great light of fire-brands, and with a heavy noiſe of their trumpets and drummes. The Citizens which dwelt where the Corpſe paſſed, attended to make clean the ſtreet. And when they were come to the Temple, they went four times round about a great fire which was prepared of Pine tree to burn the dead body. Then the Beer was laid upon the fire, and in the mean while that the body was burning, they mawled with a club thoſe which had the Garlands, and afterward buried them four and four as they were apparelled behind the Temple. The next day in the morning the aſhes, bones and jewels were gathered and laid upon a rich mantle, the which was carried to the Temple gate, where the Prieſts attended to bleſſe thoſe deviliſh reliques, whereof they made a dow or paſte, and thereof an Image, which was apparelled like a man, with a viſor on his face, and all other ſorts of jewels that the dead King was wont to wear, ſo that it ſeemed a gallant Idoll. At the foot of the Temple ſtaires they opened a grave ready made, which was ſquare, large, two fadome deep, it was alſo hanged with new mats round about, and a fair bed therein, in the which one of the Prieſts placed the Idoll made of aſhes with his eyes towards the Eaſt-part, and did hang round about the wals Targets of gold and ſilver, with bowes and arrows, and many gallant tuffes of feathers with earthen veſſels, as pots, diſhes, and platters, ſo that the grave was filled up with houſhold-ſtuffe, cheſts covered with Leather, apparell, Jewels, meat, drinke and armour. This done, the grave was ſhut up and made ſure with beams, boardes, and floored with earth on the top. All thoſe Gentlemen who had ſerved or touched any thing in the buriall, waſhed themſelves and went to dinner in the Court or yard of the Kings houſe without any table, and having dined they wiped their hands upon certain lockes of Cotton-wooll, hanging down their heads, and not ſpeaking any word, except it were to aske for drinke. This ceremonie endured five dayes, and in all that time no fire was permitted to be kindled in the City, except in the Kings houſe and Temples, nor yet any corn was ground, or market kept, nor any durſt go out of their houſes, ſhewing all the ſorrow that might be poſſible for the death of their King. And this was the ſuperſtitious manner of burying the Kings of *Mechoacan*. This people did puniſh adultery moſt rigorouſly; for to commit it was death as well for the man as the woman. But if the adulterer were a Gentleman, his head was decked with feathers, and after that he was hanged, and his body burned; and for this offence was no pardon, either for man or woman. But for avoiding of adultery they did permit other common women, but no publick and ordinary ſtewes. Now the *Indians* of *Mechoacan* are greatly taken with the popiſh devices, and are ſtrong in that religion, as any part of *America*.

The fourth and laſt Province of the Country or Empire of *Mexico*, is called *Galicia nova*, and is watered with two very great rivers, the one named *Piaſtle*, and the other *San Sanbaſtian*. This Province gloryeth in many great Townes of *Indians*; but eſpecially in ſix, inhabited both by *Indians* and *Spaniards*; the firſt and chiefeſt is *Xaliſco*, taken by *Nunio de Guzman* 1530. when he fled from *Mexico* in a rage, and took priſoner and burned the King of *Mechoacan*. The ſecond is *Guadalaiara*. The third *Coarum*. The fourth *Compoſtella*. The fifth *St. Eſpirit*. The ſixth *Capala*, which now is called

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Nova Mexico, *new Mexico*. And here it is that the *Spaniards* are dayly warring againſt the *Indians* which live Northward, and are not as yet reduced nor brought under the *Spaniſh* yoake and government. They are valiant *Indians*, and hold the *Spaniards* hard to it; and have great advantage againſt them in the rocks and mountains, where they abide and cut off many *Spaniards*. Their chief weapons are but bowes and arrowes, and yet with them from the thick Woods, hils and rocks they annoy and offend the *Spaniards* exceedingly. I have heard ſome *Spaniards* ſay that they flie and climbe up the rocks like Goats; and when they draw nigh unto them, then they cry out with a hideous noiſe ſhooting their arrowes at them, and in an inſtant are departed and fled unto another rock. The reaſon why the *Spaniards* are ſo earneſt to perſue and conquer theſe *Indians*, more then many others of *America*, which as yet are not brought in ſubjection to the *Spaniards*, is for the many mines of ſilver and treaſure of gold which they know to be there. They have got already ſure poſſeſſion of part of thoſe riches in the Mines, called St. *Lewis Sacatecas*, from whence they ſend all the ſilver that is coyned in the Mint houſes of *Mexico* and the City of *Angels*, and every year beſides to *Spain* in ſilver wedges at leaſt ſix Millions. But the further the *Spaniards* go to the North, ſtill more riches they diſcover; and fain would they ſubdue all thoſe Northern parts (as I have heard them ſay) leſt our *Engliſh* from *Virginia*, and their other plantations, get in before them. I have heard them wonder that our *Engliſh* enter no further into the main land; ſurely ſay they, either they fear the *Indians*, or elſe with a little paultry Tobacco they have as much as will maintain them in lazineſſe. Certainly they intend to conquer through thoſe heatheniſh *Indians*, untill by land they come to *Florida* and *Virginia*, (for ſo they boaſt) if they be not met with by ſome of our Northern Nations of *Europe*, who may better keep them off then thoſe poor *Indians*, and may do God greater and better ſervice with thoſe rich Mines, then the *Spaniards* hitherto have done.

Thus having ſpoken ſomewhat of the four Provinces of *Mexico*, which was the firſt member of the diviſion *Mexican* and *Peruan*; Now I ſhall briefly ſay ſomewhat further of three more Countries belonging to the *Mexican* or Northern Tract as oppoſite to the *Peruan*, omitting *Florida*, *Virginia*, *Norumbega*, *Nova Francia Corterialis*, and *Eſtotilandia*, becauſe I will not write as many do by relation and heareſay, but by more ſure intelligence, inſight and experience. In my firſt diviſion next to *Mexico*, I placed *Quivira*, *Jucatan*, and *Nicaragua*; of theſe three therefore I ſhall ſay a little, and then ſomewhat of the *Peruan* part. *Quivira* is ſeated on the moſt Weſtern part of *America*, juſt over againſt *Tartary*, from whence being not much diſtant ſome ſuppoſe that the Inhabitants firſt came into this new World. And indeed the *Indians* of *America* in many things ſeem to be of the race and progenie of the *Tartars*, in that *Quivira* and all the Weſtſide of the Country towards *Aſia* is farre more populous then the Eaſt towards *Europe*, which ſheweth theſe parts to have been firſt inhabited. Secondly, their uncivility, and barbarous properties tell us that they are moſt like the *Tartars* of any. Thirdly, the Weſt ſide of *America* if it be not continent with *Tartary*, is yet disjoyned by a ſmall ſtraight. Fourthly, the people of *Quivira* neereſt to *Tartary*, are ſaid to follow the ſeaſons and paſturing of their Cattell like the *Tartarians*. All this ſide of *America* is full of herbage, and enjoyeth a temperate aire. The people are deſirous of glaſſe more then of gold; and in ſome places to this day are Cannibals. The chief riches of this Country are their Kine, which are to them as we ſay of our Ale to drunkards, meat, drink and cloth, and more too. For the Hides yeeld them houſes, or at leaſt the coverings of them; their bones bodkins, their hair thred, their ſinews ropes; their horns, mawes and bladders, veſſels; their dung, fire; their Calve skinnes, budgets to draw and keep water; their bloud, drink; their fleſh, meat.

There is thought to be ſome traffique from *China*, or *Cathaya*, hither to thoſe parts, where as yet the *Spaniards* have not entred. For when *Vazquez de Coronado* conquered ſome part of it, he ſaw in the further Sea certain ſhips, not of common making, which ſeemed to be well laden, and bare in their prowes, Pelicans, which could not be conjectured to come from any Country, but one of theſe two. In *Quivira* there are but two Provinces known unto us, which are *Cibola*, and *Nova Albion*. *Cibola* lyeth on the Eaſtſide, whoſe chief City is of the ſame name, and denominates the whole Province. The chief Town next to *Cibola* is called *Totontaa*, which is temperate and

pleasant, being situated upon a River so called. The third Town worth mentioning is called *Tinguez*, which was burnt by the *Spaniards*; who under the conduct of *Francisco Vasquez de Coronado* made this Province subject to the King of *Spain*, *Anno Dom.* 1540. And since this Town of *Tinguez* hath been rebuilt and inhabited by the *Spaniards*; There is a goodly Colledge of Jesuites, who only preach to the *Indians* of that country. *Nova Albion* lyeth on the West side towards *Tartary*, and is very little inhabited by the *Spaniards* who have found no wealth or riches there. Our ever Renowned and Noble Captain Sir *Francis Drake* discovered it, entred upon it, and he named it *Nova Albion*, because the King that then was, did willingly submit himself unto our Queen *Elizabeth*.

The Country abounds with fruits pleasing both to the eye and the Palate. The people are given to hospitality, but withall to witchcraft and adoration of devils. The bounds between this *Quivira* and *Mexico* Empire is *Mar Virmiglio*, or *Californio*. The third Kingdome belonging to the *Mexican* part and Northern Tract is *Jucatan*; which was first discovered by *Francisco Hernandez de Cordova*, in the year 1517. It is called *Jucatan*, not as some have conceited from *Joctan* the son of *Heber*, who they thinke came out of the East, where the Scripture placeth him, *Gen.* 12. 23. to inhabite here, but from *Jucatan* which in the *Indian* tongue signifieth, what say you? for when the *Spaniards* at their first arriving in that Country did aske of the *Indians* the name of the place, the Savages not understanding what they meaned, replyed unto them *Jncatan*, which is, what say you? whereupon the *Spaniards* named it, and ever since have called it *Jucatan*. The whole Country is at least 900. miles in circuit, and is a *Peninsula*. It is situated over against the Isle of *Cuba*; and is divided into three parts, first *Jucatan* it self, whose Cities of greatest worth, are *Campeche*, *Valladolid*, *Merida*, *Simancas*, and one which for his greatnesse and beauty, they call *Caire*. This Country among the *Spaniards* is held to be poor; the chief Commodities in it are hony, wax, Hides, and some Sugar, but no Indigo, Chochinel nor Mines of silver; There are yet some drugs much esteemed of by the Apothecaries, *Cana fistula*, *Zarzaparilla* especially; and great store of *Indian Maiz*. There is also abundance of good Wood and Timber fit for shipping, whereof the *Spaniards* do make very strong ships, which they use in their voiages to *Spain* and back again. In the year 1632. the *Indians* of this Country in many places of it were like to rebell against their *Spanish* Governour, who vexed them sorely, making them bring in to him their Fowles and Turkies (whereof there is also great abundance) and their hony and wax (wherein he traded) at the rate and price which he pleased to set them for his better advantage; which was such a disadvantage to them, that to enrich him they impoverished themselves; and so resolved to betake themselves to the Woods and Mountaines; where in a rebellious way they continued some months, untill the Franciscan Fryers, who have there great power over them, reduced them back, and the Governour (lest he should quite lose that Country by a further rebellion) granted to them not only a generall pardon in the Kings name, but for the future promised to use them more mildly and gently.

The second part of it is called *Guatemala*, (wherein I lived for the space of almost twelve years) whose Inhabitants have lost formerly half a million of their kinsmen and friends by the unmercifull dealing of the *Spaniards*; and yet for all the losse of so many thousands, there is no part of *America* more flourishing then this with great and populous *Indians* Townes. They may thanke the Fryers who defend them daily against the *Spaniards*, and this yet for their own ends; for while the *Indians* flourish and increase, the Fryers purses flourish also and are filled. The Countrey is very fresh and plentifull. The chief Cities are *Guatemala*, *Cassuca*, and *Chiapa*; whereof I shall speak more largely hereafter. The third part of *Jucatan* is *Acasamil*, which is an Island over against *Guatemala*, which is now commonly called by the *Spaniards*, *Sta. Cruz*, whose chief Town is *Sta. Cruz*.

The fourth and last Country of the division of the *Mexican* part and Northern Tract of *America*, (which is under the *Spanish* Government, and my best knowledge and experience) is *Nicaragua*, which standeth South-east from *Mexico*, and above four hundred and fifty leagues from it. Yet it agreeth somewhat with *Mexico* in nature both of soil and Inhabitants. The people are of good stature, and of colour indifferent white. They had, before they received Christianity, a setled and politick forme of Government; Only, as *Solon* appointed no Law for a mans killing of his father, so had this people none for the murtherer of a King, both of them conceiting, that men were

were not so unnaturall, as to commit such crimes. A theef they judged not to death, but adjudged him to be a slave to that man whom he had robbed, till by his service he had made satisfaction: a course truely more mercifull and not lesse just, then the losse of life.

This Countrey is so pleasing to the eye, and abounding in all things necessary, that the *Spaniards* call it *Mahomets* Paradise. Among other flowrishing trees, here groweth one of that nature, that a man cannot touch any of its branches, but it withereth presently. It is as plentifull of Parrets, as our Country of *England* is of Crowes; Turkies, Fowles, Quailes and Rabbets are ordinary meat there. There are many populous *Indian* Townes (though not so many as about *Guatemala*) in this Country; and especially two Cities of *Spaniards*; the one *Leon*, a Bishops Seat, and the other *Granada*, which standeth upon a Lake of fresh water, which hath above three hundred miles in compasse, and having no intercourse with the Ocean, doth yet continually ebbe and flow. But of this Countrey, and of this City especially I say somewhat more, when I come to speak of my travailing through it.

Thus I have briefly touched upon the *Mexican* part, and so much of the Northern Tract as is under the King of *Spain* his Dominion, leaving more particulars, untill I come to shew the order of my being in and journeying through some of these Countries. I will now likewise give you a glimpse of the Southern Tract, and *Peruan* part of *America*. Which containeth chiefly five great Countries or Kingdoms, some in whole, and others in part, subject to the Crown of *Spain* and *Portugal*, which are, first *Castella aurea*; secondly, *Gujana*; thirdly, *Peru*; fourthly, *Brasile*; fifthly, *Chille*. But I will not fill my History with what others have written of the four last named Countries; wherein I was not much; but what I could learn of *Peru*, I will briefly speak, and so come to the first *Castella aurea*, through which I travailed. *Peru* is held to be yet more rich a Countrey then is *Mexico*; for although it hath not the conveniency of trafique by the North Sea, which *Mexico* hath, but doth send the Commodities in it to *Panama*; and from thence transports them either over the straight *Isthmus*, or by the River *Chiagree* to *Portabel* upon the North Sea; yet the Countrey is far richer then *Mexico*, by reason of the more abundance of Mines of silver which are in it. The mountaines named *Potosi* are thought to be of no other metall, which the King of *Spain* will not have to be opened untill they have exhausted those which are already discovered and digged, and have found the *Spaniards* work enough, and yeelded them treasure enough ever since they first conquered those parts. The soil is very fruitfull of all such fruits as are found in *Spain*. The Olives are bigger then those of *Spain*, the oile sweeter and clearer. The Grapes yeeld also a wine far stronger then any of *Spain*, and there is much made, by reason it cannot conveniently be brought from *Spain*. There is likewise wheat in great store; and all this fruitfull soile lyeth low under high Mountaines which divide betwixt *Indians* not as yet conquered and *Brasile*. But those Mountaines are a great help unto those pleasant Valleys with the waters that fall from them: for in all those parts inhabited by the *Spaniards* towards the South Sea, it is most certain and most observable that it never raineth, in so much that the houses are uncovered on the tops, and only mats laid over them to keep off the dust, and yet is this Countrey what with the waters that fall from the Mountains, what with the morning and evening dewes, as fruitfull and plentifull as any Country in the World. The chief City is called *Lima*, where there is a Viceroy and a Court of Chancery, and an Archbishop. It hath a Port some two miles from it named *Callau*; where lie the ships that convey yearly the treasure of that Kingdome to *Panama*. There lie also other ships, which trafique to the *East-India's*, and to all the Coasts of *Guatemala*, and to *Acapulco* the Southern Haven of *Mexico*. The Port of *Callau* is not so strong as the great, nay inestimable wealth that is commonly in it and in the City of *Lima* should require, for I have heard many *Spaniards* say, that in the year 1620. a few ships of *Hollanders* (as some say) or of *English* (as others affirme) appeared before the Haven waiting for the ships that were to convey the Kings revenews to *Panama*, and hearing that they were departed (though by a false report) followed them, and so forsooke the attempting to take the *Callau*; which certainly had they manly attempted, they had taken it, and in it the greatest treasure that in any one part of the world could have been found. But the *Spaniards* seldome see thereabout forain ships, and so live more carelesly in securing or strengthning that Coast. Though *Peru* be

thus rich in fruits and Mines, yet *Chille* far exceedeth it in gold; which edgeth the *Spaniards* to a conſtant and continuall war with the Inhabitants, which are a ſtrong, warlike, and moſt valiant people. They are grown as skilfull in the uſe of weapons, ſwords, piſtols, and muskets as the *Spaniards*, and have taken many *Spaniards*, men and women, priſoners; and of the *Spaniſh* women have had ſo many children, called *Meſtizoes*, that by them (who have proved moſt valiant) they have much encreaſed both their ſtrength and skill. They hold the *Spaniards* hard to it, and the War is become the moſt dangerous of any the *Spaniards* have; inſomuch that the Councell of *Spain* doth pick out from *Flanders* and *Italy*, the beſt ſouldiers to ſend them thither. And a Captain that hath ſerved long, wel and faithfully in *Flanders*, by way of credit and promotion is ſent to the Wars of *Chille*, to fight for that great treaſure of gold, which certainly is there. The *Spaniards* have in it three fair Cities; the *Conception* (which is a Biſhops Seat) and *Santjago*, and *Valdivia*. This laſt ſo named from one *Valdivia*, who was Governour of it, and the firſt cauſe and author of thoſe Wars.

This man was ſo extraordinarily covetous of the gold of that Country, that he would not let the *Indians* poſſeſſe or injoy any of it themſelves, but did vex them, whip, and beat, yea and kill ſome of them, becauſe they brought him not enough, and imployed them dayly in ſeeking it out for him, charging them with a tax and impoſition of ſo much a day: which the *Indians* not being able to performe, nor to ſatisfie an unſatisfiable minde and greedy covetouſneſſe, reſolved to rebell, but ſo that firſt they would fill and ſatisfie his heart with gold ſo that he ſhould never more covet after that yellow and glittering metall. Wherefore they joyned and combined themſelves together in a warlike poſture, and took ſome quantity of gold and melted it, and with it reſolutely came upon *Valdivia* the Governour, ſaying, O *Valdivia* we ſee thou haſt a greedy and unſatiable minde and deſire after our gold; we have not been able to ſatisfie thee with it hitherto; but now we have deviſed a way to ſatiate this thy greedy covetouſneſſe; here is now enough, drink thy full of it; and with theſe words they took him, and powred the melted gold down his throat, wherewith he died, never more coveting after that bright and ſhining droſſe, and naming with his name and death that City of *Valdivia*, and with his covetouſneſſe leaving a rebellion which hath continued to a cruell and bloudy War unto this day.

Guiana and *Braſile* I ſhall omit to ſpeak of, not having been in any part of them. *Braſile* is little talked of by the *Spaniards*, belonging to the Crown of *Portugall*, and now part of it to the high and mighty States of the *Netherlands*, who will better ſatisfie by their Hiſtories, and acquaint *Europe* with the riches that are in it.

I return unto the firſt part mentioned by me in the Southern and *Peruan* Tract, which was ſaid to be *Caſtella aurea*, golden *Caſtile*, ſo called for the abundance of gold that is found in it. This containeth the Northern part of *Peruana*, and part of the *Iſthmus*, which runneth between the North and South Sea. Beſides the gold in it, yet it is admirably ſtored with Silver, Spices, Pearls, and medicinall Herbes. It is divided into four Provinces. The firſt is called *Caſtella del oro*; the ſecond, *Nova Andaluzia*; the third *Nova Granada*; the fourth, *Carthagena*. *Caſtella del oro* is ſituated in the very *Iſthmus*, and is not very populous by reaſon of the unhealthfulneſſe of the air, and noiſome ſavour of the ſtanding pooles. The chief places belonging to the *Spaniards*, are firſt *Theonimay*, or *Nombre de Dios* on the Eaſt; the ſecond which is ſix leagues from *Nombre de Dios* is *Portabel*, now chiefly inhabited by the *Spaniards* and Mulattoes, and Blackmores, and *Nombre de Dios* almoſt utterly forſaken by reaſon of its unhealthfulneſſe. The ſhips which were wont to anchor in *Nombre de Dios*, and there to take in the Kings treaſure, which is yearly brought from *Peru* to *Panama*, and from thence to the North Sea, now harbour themſelves in *Portabel*; which ſignifieth *Porto bello*, a fair and goodly Haven, for ſo indeed it is, and well fortified at the entrance with three Caſtles, which can reach and command one another. The third and chief place belonging to the *Spaniards* in *Caſtella del oro* is *Panama*, which is on the weſtſide and upon the South Sea. This City and *Nombre de Dios* were both built by *Didacus de Niqueſa*. And *Nombre de Dios* was ſo called, becauſe *Niqueſa* having been croſſed with many miſchances and miſadventures at Sea, when he came to this place greatly rejoyced, and bad his men now goe on ſhore in *Nombre de Dios*, in the name of God, in the name of God. But as I have before obſerved, the air being here very unhealthy, the King of *Spain* in the year 1584. commanded the houſes of *Nombre de Dios* to be pulled down

down, and to be rebuilt in a more healthy and convenient place: which was performed by *Peter Arias* in *Portabel*. But being now upon *Nombre de Dios*, I ſhould wrong my Country if I ſhould not ſet out to the publick view the worth of her people ſhewed upon this place and to this day talked on and admired by the *Spaniards*, who do not only remember Sir *Francis Drake*, and teach their children to dread and fear even his name for his attempts upon *Carthagena* and all the Coaſt about, and eſpecially upon *Nombre de Dios*, and from it marching as far as the great Mountain called St. *Pablo* towards *Panama*: but furthermore keep alive amongſt them (and in this my Hiſtory it ſhall not die) the name of one of Sir *Francis Drake* his followers and Captains named *John Oxenham*, whoſe attempt on this Coaſt was reſolute and wonderfull.

This noble and gallant Gentleman arriving with threeſcore and ten ſouldiers in his company as reſolute as himſelf, a little above this Town of *Nombre de Dios* drew a land his ſhip, and covering it with boughes, marched over the land with his Company guided by *Blackmores*, untill he came to a river. Where he cut down wood, made him a Pinnace, entred the South ſea, went to the Iſland of Pearles, where he lay ten dayes waiting for a prize, which happily he got (though not ſo happily after kept it) for from that Iſland he ſet upon two *Spaniſh* ſhips, and finding them unable to fight, he ſpeedily made them yeeld, and intercepted in them threeſcore thouſand pound weight of gold, and two hundred thouſand pound weight in barres or wedges of ſilver, and returned ſafely again to the main land. And though by reaſon of a mutiny made by his own Company he neither returned to his country nor to his hidden ſhip; yet was it ſuch a ſtrange adventure as is not to be forgotten, in that the like was never by any other attempted, and by the *Spaniards* is to this day with much admiration recorded.

Much part of this *Caſtella aurea* as yet is not ſubdued by the *Spaniards*, and ſo doubtleſſe a great treaſure lieth hid in it for that people and nation whoſe thoughts ſhall aſpire to finde it out. In the year 1637. when I chanced to be in *Panama* returning homewards to my Country, there came thither ſome twenty *Indians* Barbarians by way of peace to treat with the Preſident of the Chancery concerniug their yeelding up themſelves to the government of the King of *Spain*. But as I was informed afterwards at *Carthagena*, nothing was concluded upon, for that the *Spaniards* dare not truſt thoſe *Indians*, whom they have found to have rebelled often againſt them for their hard uſage and carriage towards them. Theſe *Indians* which then I ſaw were very proper, tall and luſty men, and well complexioned; and among them one of as red a hair as any our nation can ſhew; they had bobs of gold in their ears, and ſome of them little pieces of gold made like a half moon hanging upon their nether lips, which argues ſtore of that treaſure to be amongſt them. Unto this Country is joyning *Nova Andaluzia*, which hath on the North ſide *Caſtella del oro*, and on the South *Peru*: The beſt Cities in it are *Tocoio*, now by the *Spaniards* called St. *Margarets*, and another called S. *Eſpiritu. Nova Granada* is ſituated on the South ſide of *Carthagena*, and from the abundance and fertility of *Granada* in *Spain* it hath taken its name. The chief Towns and Cities in it are ſix. Firſt *Tungia*, which is ſuppoſed to be directly under the *Æquator*. The ſecond is *Tochamum*. The third, *Popaian*, the richeſt of them all. The fourth, *Sta. Fee*, or St. *Faith*, an Archbiſhops ſeat, and a Court of Juſtice and Chancery, governed like *Panama* and *Guatemala*, by a Preſident and ſix Judges, and a Kings Attorney and two high Juſtices of Court; who have ſix thouſand duckats a year allowed them out of the Kings treaſure. The fifth City is *Palma*; and the ſixth *Merida*. From *Carthagena* through this Country of *Granada* lieth the rode way to *Lima* in *Peru* all by land. This Country is very ſtrong by reaſon of the ſituation of it much amongſt ſtony rocks, which compaſſe and environ it, and through which there are very narrow paſſages. Yet it is full of pleaſant valleys which do yeeld much fruit, Corn and *Indian* Maiz. There are alſo in it ſome Mines of ſilver, and many golden ſanded rivers. *Carthagena* which is the laſt Province of *Caſtella aurea*, hath alſo a very fruitfull ſoil; in the which groweth a tree, which if any one do touch, he will hardly eſcape a poyſoning.

The chief Cities in it are, firſt *Carthagena*, which Sir *Francis Drake* in the year 1585. ſurpriſed, and (as the *Spaniards* affirme) burned moſt part of it; and beſides ineſtimable ſums of mony, took with him from thence 230 pieces of Ordinance. I dare ſay now it hath not ſo many; yet it is reaſonable well fortified; though not ſo ſtrong as *Portabel*.

bel. It is a fair and gallant City and very rich, by reason of the pearls which are brought to it from *Margarita*, and the Kings revenues, which from all *Nova Granada* are sent thither. It is a Bishops seat, and hath many rich Churches and Cloisters. It is not governed by a Court of Justice and Chancery as *Sta. Fee* is, but only by one Governour. It hath been often moved to the Councell of *Spain* to have some galleys made to run about those Seas, and that *Carthagena* be the chief harbour of them. From this City received *England* the losse of that little Island named *Providence* by us, and by the *Spaniards Sta. Catalina*, which though but little, might have been of a great, nay greater advantage to our Kingdom, then any other of our Plantations in *America*; which the *Spaniards* well understood when they set all their strength of *Carthagena* against it: but I hope the Lord hath his time appointed when we shall advantage our selves by it again. To this City of *Carthagena* cometh every year also in small Frigots most of the Indigo, Cochinil and Sugar which is made in the Country of *Guatemala*; the *Spaniards* thinking it safer to ship these their goods in little Frigots upon the lake of *Granada* in *Nicaragua*, and from thence to send them to *Carthagena* to be shipped with the Galeons that come from *Portabel* with the treasure of *Peru*, then to send them by the ships of *Honduras*, which have often been a prey unto the *Hollanders*. These frigots were thought by the *Spaniards* to come too near the reach of *Providrnce*, and therefore it hath been their care and providence to remove us from this reach of their frigots. The second great Town of this Country of *Carthagena* is *Abuida*. The third *Sta. Martha*, which is a rich government of *Spaniards*, and doth much fear our *English* and *Holland* ships; it is seated on the river *de Abuida*, otherwise called St *John* and *Rio di Grand*. There is also *Venezuela* and *New Caliz*, great, rich, and strong Towns. And these three last regions, *Andaluzia Nova*, *Nova Granada*, and *Carthagena* are by the *Spaniards* called *Tierra firme*, or firme land, for that they are the strength of *Peru* from the North, and the basis of this reversed *Pyramis*.

Thus have I brought thee, Gentle Reader, round about *America*, and shewed thee the Continent of that biggest part of the world; from the which thou mayest observe the power and greatnesse of the King of *Spain*, who hath got under his Scepter and Dominion so many thousand miles, which were they reckoned up, would be found to be more then are about all *Europe*. But not only is *America* great and spacious by land, but also by sea, glorying in more and some greater Islands, then any other part of the world. It would but cause tediousnesse, and seem prolixity to number them all up, which is a work hard and difficult, for that many as yet are not known nor inhabited, and whose goodnesse and greatnesse is not discovered; for the Islands called *Lucaidas* are thought to be four hundred at least. Therefore I will omit to be over tedious and prolixe, and will but briefly speak of the best and chief of them, taking them in order from that part of the Continent, *Carthagena*, where even now I left thee. But in the first place cals upon my pen the Jewel Island called *Margarita*, which is situated in the sea nigh unto *Castella aurea*, and not far distant from two other Islands, named *Cubagna* and *Trinidado*. True it is this Island of *Margarita* is by some much slighted for want of corn, grasse, trees and water; in so much that it hath been known sometime that an inhabitant of that Island hath willingly changed for a Tun of water a Tun of wine. But the great abundance of pretious stones in it maketh amends for the former wants and defects; for from them is the name of *Margarita* imposed on that Island. But especally it yeelded store of pearls, those gemmes which the Latine writers call *Uniones*, because *nulli duo reperiuntur indiscreti*, they alwayes are found to grow in couples. In this Island there are many rich Merchants, who have thirty, forty, fifty *Blackmore* slaves only to fish out of the sea about the rocks these pearls. These *Blackmores* are much made of by their Masters, who must needs trust them with a treasure hidden in the waters, and in whose will it is to passe by of those they find, none, few, or many. They are let down in baskets into the Sea, and so long continue under the water, untill by pulling the rope by which they are let down, they make their sign to be taken up. I have heard some say that have thus dealt in pearls, that the chief meat they feed their *Blackmores* with, is roast meat, which maketh them keep their wind and breath longer in the water. From *Margarita* are all the Pearls sent to be refined and bored to *Carthagena*, where is a fair and goodly street of no other shops then of these Pearl-dressers. Commonly in the month of *July* there is a ship or two at most ready in that Island to carry the Kings revenue, and the Merchants pearls to *Carthagena*. One of these ships are valued commonly at threescore thousand, or fourscore thousand duckats,

and

and sometimes more; and therefore are reasonable well manned; for that the *Spaniards* much fear our *English* and the *Holland* ships. The year that I was in *Carthagena*, which was 1637. a ship of these laden with pearls was chased by one of our ships from the Island of *Providence* (by some it was thought to be our ship called the *Neptune*) which after a little fighting had almost brought the poor *Spaniard* to yeeld his pearls, and had certainly carried away that great treasure (as I was informed in *Carthagena* four dayes after the fight by a *Spaniard* who was in the ship of *Margarita*) had not two other ships of *Holland* come between to challenge from our *English* man that prize, alleadging their priviledge from the mighty States united for all prizes upon those seas and coast. And whilest our *English* and *Hollander* did thus strive for the Pearls, the *Spanish* ship ran on shore upon a little Island, and speedily unladed and hid in the woods part of the treasures, and perceiving the *Hollander* coming eagerly in pursuit of it, the *Spaniard* set on fire the ship, and neither *Spaniard*, *English*, nor *Hollander*, enjoyed what might have been a great and rich prize to *England*. From *Carthagena* was sent presently a man of War to bring home the pearls hid in the wood, which were not the third part of what was in the ship.

Jamaica is another Island under the power of the *Spaniards*, which is in length 280. miles, and 70. in breadth, which though it exceed *Margarita* in sweet and pleasant streames and fountains of water, yet is far inferiour to it in riches. Some Hides, some Sugar, and some Tobacco are the chief commodities from thence. There are only two Towns of note in it, *Oristana* and *Sevilla*; here are built ships which have proved as well at Sea, as those that are made in *Spain*. This Island was once very populous, and now is almost destitute of *Indians*; for the *Spaniards* have slain in it more the 60000; in so much that women as well here as on the Continent did kill their children before they had given them life, that the issues of their bodies might not serve so cruell a nation. But far beyond the two former is the Island of *Cuba*, which is three hundred miles long, and seventy broad, which was first made known to *Europe* by *Columbus* his second navigation. This Island is full of Forrests, Lakes, and mountains. The air is very temperate, the soil very fertill, producing brasse of exact perfection, and some gold though drossie hath formerly been found in it. It aboundeth also with Ginger, Cassia, Mastick, Aloes, some Cinnamon, Cana fistula, Zarzaparilla, and Sugar, and hath of flesh, fish, and fowles great plenty; but especially such store of sea Tortois, and Hogs, that the ships at their returne to *Spain* make their chief provision of them. My self chanced to take physick there, and whereas I thought that day I should have a fowle or rabbet after my physicks working, they brought me a boyled piece of fresh young Porke, which when I refused to eat, they assured me it was the best dish the Doctors did use to prescribe upon such dayes.

The chief Cities of this Island are *Santjago* on the Northern shore, built by *James de Valasco*, a Bishops seat; and secondly, *Havana*, which is also on the Northern shore, and is a safe rode for ships, and the staple of merchandize, and (as the *Spaniards* call it) the key of all the *West-India's*, to lock up or unlock the door or entrance to all *America*. Here rideth the King of *Spains* Navy, and here meet all the Merchant ships from severall ports and Havens of all those Countries aforenamed, whether from the Islands, or from the Continent: in a word here commonly in the month of *Semptember* is joyned all the treasure as I may say of *America*, all the King of *Spains* revenews, with as much more of Merchant goods, whith the year that I was there were thought to be in all the worth of thirty millions. And the ships which that year there did meet to strengthen one another were 53. sail, and set out sooner that year then any other, upon the 16. of *September*, having that day a fair wind to waft them homewards through the Gulf of *Bahama*. *Havana* therfore being the store-house of all *Americaes* treasure, it hath been the *Spaniards* great care to fortifie that; and truly it is so strong, that the *Spaniards* hold it impossible to be taken, and do boast of four impregnable forts, to wit at *Antwerp*, *Millan*, *Pamplona*, and *Havana*. This hath two strong Castles, the one at the point or entrance of the Haven toward the Sea; the other more within, on the other side almost over against it; which two Castles (the passage in the mouth of the haven being so narrow, that one only ship in breast may enter) will keep and defend the Port from many hundred sail. I was my selfe in the great and chief Castle, and truly found it very strong, though by land I judged it might be as easily taken, as other strong Castles here in *Europe* have been ovepowered by a great and powerfull Army. It hath in

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it besides many others, twelve pieces of Ordinance of brasse exceeding great, which they call, The twelve Apostles. But for all this strength of the *Havana*, it could not once defend six or seven millions (according to the *Spaniards* own account) which the one part of the Kings Navy brought from St. *John de Ulhua* to the sight of this impregnable fort, and protected with such twelve Apostles. It was as I take it the year 1629. when that ever renowned *Hollander* (whom like unto our *Drake* the *Spaniards* to this day fear and tremble at, calling him *Pie de Palo*, that is, wooden leg) waited at the Cape of St. *Anthony* for the *Spanish* fleet of *Nova Hispania*; which according to his expectation coming, he manly set upon it, saluting and welcoming the great treasure in it with a full side of roaring Ordinance; the sound was more dolefull then joyfull and welcome to the *Spaniards*, who thought it safer sleeping in a whole skin, then to be unquieted by fighting, and with the sight of torn and mangled bodies, by *Mars* his furious and fiery bals, and so called a Councell of War to resolve what they should do to save the Kings great treasure which was intrusted to them in those ships. The result of the Councell was to flie and with some discharging of their Ordinance to defend themselves, untill they could put into a river in the Island of *Cuba*, not far from *Havana* called *Matanzos*. There were in that fleet of *Spain* many gallants and Gentlemen, and two Judges of the Chancery of *Mexico*, which were that year sent to *Madrid* as guilty in the mutiny before mentioned, there was in it of my acquaintance a Dominican Fryer, named Fryer *Jacintho de Hozes*, who had been sent to those parts to visit all the Dominican Cloisters of *New Spain*, and had got of bribes at least eight thousand duckats (as I was informed the year after by a Fryer his companion, whom he sent from *Havana* to *Guatemala* to make known to his friends his losse of all that he had got, and to beg a new contribution to help him home) there was also in that fleet *Don Martin de Carillo*, who was the Inquisitor and Commissioner to judge the Delinquents in the fore-mentioned mutiny of *Mexico*, who was thought to have got twenty thousand duckats cleer; besides these a Bishop, and many rich Merchants, all under the command of *Don Juan de Guzman y Torres* Admirall to all the fleet. They all fled for their lives and goods; but the gallant *Hollanders* chased them. The *Spaniards* thinking the *Hollanders* would not venture up the river after them, put into *Matanzos*; but soon after they had entred, they found the river too shallow for their heavy and great bellied Galeons, and so run them upon ground; which done, the better and richer sort escaped to land, endevouring to escape with what wealth they could; some got out Cabinets, some bags; which the *Hollanders* perceiving came upon them with bullet messengers, which soon overtook and stopt their flying treasures. Some few Cabinets were hid, all the rest became that day the gallant *Pie de Palo* or the wooden leg Captains prize for the mighty States of *Holland*. The Fryer *Hozes* was got into a boat with his Cabinet under his habit, which had in it nothing but chains of gold, diamonds, pearls and pretious stones; and half a dozen *Hollanders* leapt into the boat after him, and snatched it from him, as his own friend and companion related after to us in *Guatemala*. *Don Juan de Guzman y Torres* the Admirall when he came to *Spain* was imprisoned, lost his wits for a while, and after was beheaded. Thus in the sight of impregnable *Havana* and of those 12 brazen Apostles, was *Holland* glorious and made rich with a seven million prize.

But before I end this Chapter, I may not forget the chiefest of all the Islands of this new world, which is called *Hispaniola*, and formerly by the natives *Hatie*, which lamenteth the losse of at least three millions of *Indians* murthered by her new Masters of *Spain*. This Island is the biggest that as yet is discovered in all the world; it is in compasse about 1500. miles and enjoyneth a temperate aire, a fertill soil, rich mines; and trades much in Ambar, Sugar, Ginger, Hides, and Wax. It is reported for certain that here in twenty days herbes will ripen and roots also and be fit to be eaten, which is a strong argument of the exact temperature of the air. It yeeldeth in nothing to *Cuba*, but excelleth in three things especially; first in the fineness of the gold, which is here more pure and unmixed; secondly, in the increase of the Sugar, one Sugar Cane here filling twenty and sometimes thirty measures; and thirdly, in the goodness of the soil for tillage, the corn here yeelding an hundred fold. This fertility is thought to be caused by four great rivers, which water and enrich all the four quarters of the Island; all four do spring from one only mountain, which standeth in the very midst and center of the Countrey, *Juna* running to the East, *Artibinnacus* to the West, *Jacchus* to the North, and *Naibus* to the South.

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This Country is so repleniſhed with Swine and Cattell, that they become wild among the Woods and Mountains, ſo that the ſhips that ſail by this Iſland, and want proviſion, go here a ſhore where it is little inhabited, and kill of Cattell, wild ſwine and bores, till they have made up a plentifull proviſion. Much of this Countrey is not inhabited, by reaſon that the *Indians* aae quite conſumed. The chief places in it are firſt St. *Domingo*, where there is a *Spaniſh* Preſident and Chancery with ſix Judges and the other officers belonging to it, and it is the Seat of an Archbiſhop, who though he enjoy not ſo much yearly rent and revenues as other Archbiſhops, eſpecially they of *Mexico* and *Lima*; yet he hath an honour above all the reſt, for that he is the primate of all the *India's*, this Iſland having been conquered before the other parts, and ſo bearing antiquity above them all. There are alſo other rich Towns of trading, as *Sta. Iſabella*, S. *Thome*, S. *John*, *Maragna*, and *Porto*. And thus hath my pen run over Sea and Land, Iſlands and moſt of the Continent that is ſubject to the *Spaniards*, to ſhew thee, my Reader, the ſtate of *America* at this time. It is called *America* becauſe *Americus Veſpuſius* firſt diſcovered it; though afterwards *Columbus* gave us the firſt light to diſcern theſe Countries both by example and directions. Beſides the factions ſpoken of before between the Native *Spaniards* and thoſe that come from *Spain*, there is yet further in moſt parts of it, but eſpeciall in *Peru*, a deadly faction and mortall harted between the *Biſcains* and the *Spaniards* of *Caſtile* and *Eſtremadura*, which hath much ſhaken the quiet ſtate of it, and threatned it with rebellion and deſtruction.

There are in all *America* four Archbiſhopricks, which are *Sto. Domingo*, *Mexico*, *Lima* and *Sta. Fee*, and above thirty inferiour Biſhops. The politick Adminiſtration of Juſtice is chiefly committed to the two Viceroyes reſiding at *Lima* and *Mexico*, and with ſubordination unto them unto other Preſidents, Governours, and high Juſtices, called *Alcaldes Majores*; except it be the Preſident of *Guatemala*, and of *Santo Domingo*, who are as abſolute in power as the Viceroyes, and have under them Governours, and high Juſtices, and are no wayes ſubordinate to the former Viceroyes, but only unto the Court and Councell of *Spain*.

Chap. XIII.

Shewing my journey from Mexico *to* Chiapa *Southward, and the moſt remarkable places in the way.*

HAving now gone round *America* with a brief and ſuperficiall deſcription of it, my deſire is to ſhew unto my Reader what parts of it I travelled through, and did abide in, obſerving more particularly the ſtate, condition, ſtrength, and commodities of thoſe Countries which lie Southward from *Mexico*. It is further my deſire, nay the chief ground of this my Hiſtory, that whileſt my Country doth here obſerve an *Engliſh* man, become *American*, travailing many thouſand miles there, as may be noted from St. *John de Ulhua* to *Mexico*, and from thence Southward to *Panama*, and from thence Northward again to *Carthagena*, and to *Havana*, Gods goodneſſe may be admired, and his providence extolled who ſuffered not the meaneſt and unworthieſt of all his Creatures to periſh in ſuch unknown Countries; to be ſwallowed by North and South ſea, where ſhipwracks were often feared; to be loſt in Wilderneſſes where no tongue could give directions; to be devoured by Wolves, Lions, Tigers or Crocodiles, which there ſo much abound; to fall from ſteepy rocks and mountains, which ſeem to dwell in the aereall Region, and threaten with fearfull ſpectacles of deep and profound precipices, a horrid and inevitable death to thoſe that climbe up to them; to be eaten up by the greedy Earth which there doth often quake and tremble, and hath ſometimes opened her mouth to draw in Towns and Cities; to be ſtricken with thoſe fiery darts of Heaven and thunderbolts which in winter ſeaſon threaten the Rocks and Cedars; to be inchanted by Satans Inſtruments, Witches and Sorcerers, who there as on their own ground play their prankes more then in the parts of Chriſtendome; to be quite blinded with *Romiſh* Errors and Superſtitions, which have double blinded the purblind heatheniſh Idolaters; to be wedded to the pleaſures and

and licentiousnesse; which do there allure; to be glutted with the plenty and dainties of fish, flesh, fowles, and fruits, which do there entice; to be puffed up with the spirit of pride and powerfull command and authority over the poor *Indians*, which doth there provoke; to be tied with the Cords of vanity and ambition, which there are strong; and finally to be glewed in heart, and affection to the drosse of gold, silver, Pearls, and Jewels, whose plenty there both bind, blind, captivate and enslave the soul. Oh I say, let the Lords great goodnesse and wonderfull providence be observed who suffered not an *English* stranger in all these dangers to miscarry, but was a guide unto him there in all his travailes, discovered unto him as to the espies in *Canaan*, and as to *Joseph* in *Egypt* the provision, wealth and riches of that world, and safely guided him back to relate to *England*, the truth of what no other *English* eye did ever yet behold. From the moneth of *October* untill *February* I did abide with my friends, and companions the Fryers under command of Fryer *Calvo* in that house of recreation called St. *Jacintho*, and from thence injoyed the sight of all the Townes and of what else was worth the seeing about *Mexico*. But the time I was there, I was carefull to informe my self of the state of *Philippinas*, whither my first purposes had drawn me from *Spain*. It was my fortune to light upon a Fryer and an acquainrance of some of my friends, who was that year newly come from *Manila* whither I was going; who wished me and some other of my friends as we tendred our souls and good never to go to those parts, which were but snares and trap-dores to let down to hell, where occasions and temptations to sin were daily, many in number, mighty in strength, and to get out of them, *labor & opus*, hard and difficult. And that himself, had not he by stealth gotten away (and that to save his soul) certainly he had never come from thence; who had often upon his knees begged leave of his superiours to return to *Spain*, and could not obtain it. Many particulars we could not get from him, nor the reasons of his coming away; Only he would often say, that the Fryers that live there are devils in private and in those retired places where they live among the *Indians* to instruct and teach them; and yet in publick before their superiours and the rest of Fryers they must appear Saints, they must put on the cloak of hypocrisie to cover their inward devilishnesse, they must be cloathed with sheeps skins though within they be *lupi rapaces*, ravenous Wolves, ravening after their neighbours Wives, and ravening after their neighbours wealth; and yet withall this unpreparednesse, with this outward, seeming and frothy sanctity, and inward hellishnesse and deep rooted worldlinesse and covetousnesse, when the Superiours command and please to send them, they must go in a disguised manner to *Japan* or *China* to convert to Christianity those people though with perill and danger of their lives. Many such like discourses we got out of this Fryer; and that if we went to live there, we must be subject to the penalties of many Excommunications for triviall toyes and trifles, which the Superiours do lay upon the Consciences of their poor Subjects, who may assoon strive against the common course of nature not to see with their eyes, nor hear with their eares, nor speak with their tongues, as to observe all those things which against sense, reason and nature with grievous censures and Excommunications are charged and fastened upon them. He told us further of some Fryers that had despaired under those rigorous courses, and hanged themselves, not being able to bear the burden of an afflicted and tormented Conscience; and of others that had been hanged, some for murthering of their rigid and cruell Superiours; and some that had been found in the morning hanging with their queanes at the Cloister gates, having been found together in the night, and so murthered and hanged up either by the true Husband, or by some other who bare affection to to the woman. These things seemed to us very strange, and we perceved that all was not gold that glistered, nor true zeal of souls that carried so many from *Spain* to those parts; or if in some there were at first a better and truer zeal then in others, when they came to *Philippinas*, and among those strong temptatations, we found that their zeal was soon quenched. This reason moved me and three more of my friends to relent in our purposes of leaving of *America*, and going any further, for we had learned that maxime, *Qui amat periculum, peribit in illo*; and, *qui tangit picem, inquinabitur ab ea*; He that loveth the danger, shall fall and perish in it; and he that toucheth pitch shall be smeared by it. Wherefore we communed privately with our selves, what course we might take, how we might that year return back to *Spain*, or where we might abide, if we returned not to *Spain*. For we knew

knew, if our Superiour *Calvo* ſhould underſtand of our purpoſes to go no further, he would lay upon us an Excommunication to follow him, nay and that he would ſecure us in a Cloiſter priſon untill the day and time of our departure from *Mexico*. Our reſolutions we made a ſecret of our hearts; yet could not I but impart it to one more ſpeciall and intimate friend of mine, who was an *Iriſh* Fryer, named *Thomas de Leon*, whom I perceived a little troubled with ſo long a journey as was at hand, and found often wiſhing he had never come from *Spain*; and as ſoon as I had acquainted him with what I meant to do, he rejoyced and promiſed to ſtay with me. The time was ſhort which we had to diſpoſe of our ſelves; but in that time we addreſſed our ſelves to ſome *Mexican* Fryers and made known unto them, that if our Superiour *Calvo* would give us leave, we would willingly ſtay at *Mexico* or in any Cloiſter thereabouts, untill we could better fit our ſelves to return to *Spain* again. But they being natives and born in that Country diſcovered preſently unto us that inveterate ſpight and hatred which they bare to ſuch as came from *Spain*; they told us plainly that they and true *Spaniards* born did never agree, and that they knew their Superiors would be unwilling to admit of us; yet furthermore they informed us that they thought we might be entertained in the Province of *Guaxaca*, where half the Fryers were of *Spain* and half Criolians and Natives; but in caſe we ſhould not ſpeed there, they would warrant us we ſhould be welcome to the Province of *Guatemala*, where almoſt all the Fryers were of *Spain*, and did keep under ſuch as were Natives born in that Country. It did a little trouble us to conſider that *Guatemala* was three hundred leagues off, and that we were ignorant of the *Mexican* tongue, and unprovided of money and horſes for ſo long a journey. But yet we conſidered *Philippinas* to be further, and no hopes there of returning ever again to Chriſtendome; wherefore we reſolved to rely upon Gods providence only, and to venture upon a three hundred leagues journey with what ſmall means we had, and to ſell what Books and ſmall trifles we had, to make as much money as might buy each of us a horſe. But while we were thus preparing our ſelves ſecretly for *Guatemala* we were affrighted and diſhearnted with what in the like caſe to ours happened. A Fryer of our company named Fryer *Peter Borrallo*, without acquainting us or any other of his friends with what he intended, made a ſecret eſcape from us, and (as after we were informed) took his way alone to *Guatemala*. This ſo incenſed our Superiour *Calvo*, that after great ſearch and enquiry after him, he betook himſelf to the Viceroy begging his aſſiſtance and Proclamation, in the publick Market place, for the better finding out his loſt ſheep, and alledging that none ought to hide or privily to harbour any Fryer that had been ſent from *Spain* to *Philippinas* to preach there the Goſpel, for that the foreſaid Fryers were ſent by the King of *Spain* whoſe bread they had eat, and at whoſe charges they had been brought from *Spain* to *Mexico*, and at the ſame Kings charges ought to be carried from *Mexico* to *Philippinas*; and therefore if any Fryer now in the halfe way ſhould recant of his purpoſe of going to *Philippinas*, and ſhould by flight eſcape from his Superiour and the reſt of his company, the ſame ought to be puniſhed as guilty of defrauding the Kings charges. This reaſon of *Calvo* being a politick and State reaſon prevailed ſo far with the Viceroy, that immediately he commanded a Proclamation to be made againſt whoſoever ſhould know of the ſaid *Peter Borrallo* and ſhould not produce him to his Highneſſe, or ſhould harbour him or any other Fryer belonging to *Philippinas* from that time forward untill the ſhips were departed from *Acapulco*; and that whoſoever ſhould treſpaſſe againſt this Proclamation, ſhould ſuffer impriſonment at his Highneſſe his will and pleaſure, and the penalty of five hundred duckats to be paid in at the Kings Exchequer. With this Proclamation *Calvo* began to inſult over us, and to tell us, we were the Kings ſlaves under his conduct, and that if any of us durſt to leave him (for he was jealous of moſt of us) he doubted not but with the Viceroy his aſſiſtance and Proclamation he ſhould find both us and *Peter Borrallo* out to our further ſhame and confuſion. This did very much trouble us, and made my *Iriſh* friend *Thomas de Leon* his heart to faint, and his courage to relent, and utterly to renounce before me his former purpoſe of ſtaying and hiding himſelf; yet he proteſted to me, if I was ſtill of the ſame minde, he would not diſcover me; but ſeeing his weakneſſe, I durſt not truſt him, but made as if I were of his minde. Thus I betook my ſelf to the other three of my friends (of whom one was *Antonio Melendez* that had been the firſt cauſe of my coming from *Spain*) whom I found much troubled, doubtfull and wavering what courſe to take.

They

They considered if we should flie, what a shame it would be to us to be taken and brought back to *Mexico* as prisoners, and forcedly against our wills to be shipped to *Philippinas*, they considered further if they went, what a slavish and uncomfortable life they should live in *Philippinas*, without any hopes of ever returning again to Christendom; yet further they looked upon the Viceroy his Proclamation, and thought it hard to break though the opposition and authority of so great a man; and lastly in the Proclamation they beheld the estimation that *Calvo* had of them, as of slaves and fugitives to be cryed in a publick Market place. But after all these serious thoughts our only comfort was that *Peter Borallo* was safely escaped, and (as we were informed) had been met farre from *Mexico* travailing alone towards *Guatemala*. And we thought, why might not we escape as well as he? Then I told them that my resolution was to stay, though alone I returned either to *Spain*, or took my journey to *Guatemala*; the rest were glad to see me resolute, and gave their hands that they would venture as much as I should. Then we set upon the time when we should take our flight, and agreed that every one should have a Horse in readinesse in *Mexico*, and that the night before the rest of our company should depart from *Mexico* towards *Acapulco* to take shipping, we should by two and two in the evening leave St *Jacintho*, and meet in *Mexico* where our Horses stood, and from thence set out and travaile all that night, continuing our journey so the first two or three nights and resting in the day time, untill we were some twenty or thirty leagues from *Mexico*. For we thought the next morning *Calvo* awaking and missing us would not stop the journey of the rest of his company for our sakes, to search and inquire after us; or if he did, it would be but for one day or two at the most, till he had inquired for us in *Mexico*, or a dayes journey in some of the common or beaten rodes of *Mexico*, where we would be sure he should not hear of us; for we also agreed to travail out of any common or known rode for the first two or three nights. This resolution was by us as well performed and carried on, as it had been agreed upon, though some had been fearfull that a counsell betwixt four could never be kept secret, nor such a long journey as of nine hundred miles be compassed with such small means of money as was amongst us, for the maintenance of our selves and Horses; for after our Horses were bought, we made a common purse, and appointed one to be the purse-bearer, and found that amongst us all there were but twenty duckats, which in that rich and plentifull country was not much more then here twenty *English* shillings, which seemed to us but as a morning dew, which would soon be spent in provender only for our Horses; yet we resolved to go on, relying more upon the providence of God, then upon any earthly means; and indeed this proved to us a far better support then all the drosse of gold and silver could have done; and we reckoned that after we had travailed forty leagues from *Mexico*, and entred without fear into the rode, we had for our twenty duckats neer forty now in our common purse. The reason was, for that most commonly we went either to Fryers Cloisters who knew us not, or to rich farmes of *Spaniards* who thought nothing too good for us, and would not only entertain us stately, but at our departure would give us money for one or two dayes journey. All our fear was to get safely out of *Mexico*, for we had been informed that *Calvo* had obtained from the Viceroy officers to watch in the chiefest rodes both day and night untill he had departed with his Train of *Fryers* to *Acapulco*.

And for all the Viceroy his Proclamation we got a true and trustie friend, who offered to guide us out of *Mexico* by such a way as we needed not to fear any would watch for us. So with our friend and a map about us to guide us after he had left us in the morning, we cheerfully set out of *Mexico* about ten of the clock at night, about the middle of *February*, and meeting no body about *Guadalupe* which was the way we went out (though the contrary way to *Guatemala*, which on purpose we followed for fear the true way should be beset) we comfortably travailed all that night, till in the morning we came to a little Town of *Indians*, where we began to spend of our small stock, calling upon the *Indians* for a Turkey and Capon to break our fast with our friend and guide before he returned to *Mexico*. Breakfast being ended we took our leaves of him, and went to rest, that we might be more able to performe the next nights journey, which was to Crosse the Country towards *Alisco*, which is in a vally of twenty miles about at least, and doth give it the name of the valley of *Atlixco*, and is a valley much mentioned in all those parts, for the exceeding great plenty of wheat that is there reaped every year, and is the chief sustenance and relief of *Mexico* and all the Townes about. In this

Valley

Valley are many rich Towns of *Spaniards* and *Indians*; but we ſhunned to enter into them, and went from farme to farme out of the highwayes, where we found good entertainment of thoſe rich Farmers and Yeomen, who bare ſuch reſpect unto the Prieſts, that truely they thought themſelves happy with our company. Here we began to ſhake off all fear, and would no more like Bats and Owles flie in the night, but that we might with more pleaſure enjoy the proſpect of that valley, and of the reſt of the Country we travelled by day; yet ſtill croſſing the Country, we went from thence towards another valley called the valley of St. *Pablo*, or *Pauls* valley, which though it be not as big as the valley of *Atliſco*, yet is held to be a richer valley; for here they enjoy a double harveſt of wheat every year. The firſt ſeed they ſow is watered, and growes with the common ſeaſon rain; and the ſecond ſeed which they ſow in Summer as ſoon as their firſt harveſt is in, when the ſeaſon of rain is paſt, they water with many Springs which fall into that valley from the Mountains which round beſet it, and let in the water among their wheat at their pleaſure, and take it away when they ſee fit. Here live Yeomen upon nothing but their farms, who are judged to be worth ſome twenty thouſand, ſome thirty thouſand, ſome forty thouſand duckats. In this valley we chanced to light upon one farme where the Yeoman was country-man to my friend *Antonio Melendez*, borne in *Segovia* in *Spain*, who for his ſake kept us three daies and nights with him. His table was as well furniſhed as the table of a Knight might be, his ſide board full of ſilver boules and cups, and plates in ſtead of trenchers; he ſpared no dainties which might welcome us to his table, no perfumes which might delight us in our chambers, no muſick (which his daughters were brought up to) which might with more pleaſure help to paſſe away the time. To him *Antonio Melendez* made known our journey towards *Guatemala*; and from him we received directions which way to ſteer our courſe untill we might be throughly freed from fear and danger; here we began to ſee the great providence of God, who had brought us being ſtrangers to ſuch a friends houſe, who not only welcomed us to him, but when we departed gave us a guide for a whole day, and beſtowed upon us twenty duckats to help to bear our charges. From this valley we wheeled about to *Taſco*, a Town of ſome five hundred Inhabitants which enjoyeth great commerce with the Country about by reaſon of the great ſtore of Cotton-wool which is there. And here we were very well entertained by a Franciſcan Fryer, who being of *Spain* made the more of us, knowing we came from thence. Here we got into the Rode of *Guaxaca*, and went to *Chautla*, which alſo aboundeth with Cotton-wool, but in it we found no entertainment but what our own purſes would afford us. Next to this place is a great Town called *Zumpango*, which doth conſiſt of at leaſt eight hundred Inhabitants, many of them very rich both *Indians* and *Spaniards*. Their commodities are chiefly Cotton-wooll, and Sugar, and Cochinil. But beyond this Town are the Mountains called *la Miſteca*, which abound with many rich and great Towns, and do trade with the beſt ſilk that is in all that Country. Here is alſo great ſtore of Wax and Hony; and *Indians* live there who traffique to *Mexico* and about the Country with twenty or thirty mules of their own, chopping and changing, buying and ſelling commodities, and ſome of them are thought to be worth ten, or twelve, or fifteen thouſand duckats, which is much for an *Indian* to get among the *Spaniards*, who thinke all the riches of *America* little enough for themſelves. From theſe Mountains of *Miſteca* to *Guaxaca* we ſaw little obſervable, only Towns of two or three hundred inhabitants; rich Churches, well built, and better furniſhed within with lampes, candleſticks, crownes of ſilver for the ſeverall ſtatues of Saints; and all the way we did obſerve a very fruitfull ſoil for both *Indian* and *Spaniſh* wheat, much Sugar, much Cotton-wool, Hony, and here and there ſome Cochinil, and of Plantins, and other ſweet and luſcious fruit great ſtore; but above all great abundance of Cattell, whoſe Hides are one of the greateſt commodities that from thoſe parts are ſent to *Spain*. Some reported that about *Miſteca* formerly much gold had been found, and the *Indians* were wont to uſe it much, though now they will not be known of any, leſt the greedineſſe of the *Spaniards* bring them to miſery and deſtruction, as it hath their neighbours about them. Alſo it is reported for certain that there are Mines of ſilver, though as yet the *Spaniards* have not found them.

There are many Mines of Iron which the *Spaniards* will not buſie themſelves in digging, becauſe they have it cheaper from *Spain*; from hence we came to the City of *Guaxaca*, which is a Biſhops Seat, though not very big, yet a fair and beautifull City

to behold. It ſtandeth threeſcore leagues from *Mexico* in a pleaſant vally from whence *Cortez* was named *Marques del Valle*, the Marqueſſe of the valley. This City, as all the reſt of *America*, (except the Sea Towns) lyeth open without wals, Bulwarkes, Forts, Towers, or any Caſtle, Ordinance or Ammunition to defend it. It may conſiſt of at the moſt two thouſand Inhabitants, and are governed by a *Spaniſh* high Juſtice called *Alcalde Major*, whoſe power reacheth over all the Valley, and beyond it as far as *Nixapa*, and almoſt to *Tecoantepeque*, a Sea Town upon *Mar del Zur*. The Valley is of at leaſt fifteen miſes in length, and ten in breadth, where runneth in the midſt a goodly River yeelding great ſtore of fiſh. The Valley is full of Sheep and other Cattell, which yeeld much Wooll to the Clothiers of the City of *Angels*, ſtore of Hides to the Merchants of *Spain*, and great proviſion of fleſh to the City of *Guaxaca*, and to all the Towns about, which are exceeding rich, and do maintain many Cloiſters of Fryers, and Churches with ſtately furniture belonging unto them. But what doth make the Valley of *Guaxaca* to be mentioned far and near, are the good horſes which are bred in it, and eſteemed to be the beſt of all the Country. In this Valley alſo are ſome farmes of Sugar, and great ſtore of fruits, which two ſorts meeting together have cried up the City of *Guaxaca* for the beſt Conſerves and Preſerves that are made in *America*. In the City there are ſome ſix Cloiſters of Nuns and Fryers, all of them exceeding rich; but above all is the Cloiſter of the Dominican Fryers, whoſe Church treaſure it worth two or three millions; and the building of it the faireſt and ſtrongeſt in all thoſe parts, the wals are of ſtone ſo broad, that a part of them being upon finiſhing when I was there I ſaw Carts goe upon them, with ſtone and other materials. Here are alſo two Cloiſters of Nuns, which are talked of far and near, not for their religious practiſes, but for their skill in making two drinks which are uſed in thoſe parts, the one called *Chocolatte* (whereof I ſhall ſpeak hereafter) and the other *Atolle*, which is like unto our *Almond* Milk, but much thicker, and is made of the juyce of the yong *Maiz* or *Indian* wheat, which they ſo confection with ſpices, musk, and ſugar, that it is not only admirable in the ſweetneſſe of the ſmell, but much more nouriſhing and comforting the ſtomach. This is not a commodity that can be tranſported from thence, but is to be drunk there where it is made. But the other, *Chocolatte*, is made up in Boxes, and ſent not only to *Mexico* and the parts thereabouts, but much of it is yearly tranſported into *Spain*. This City of *Guaxaca* is the richer by reaſon of the ſafety they enjoy for the carriage of their Commodities to and from the port of St. *John de Ulhua* by the great River *Alvarado* which runneth not far from it; and although the Barks come not to the City of *Guaxaca*, yet they come up to the *Zapotecas*, and to St. *Ildefonſo*, which is not far from *Guaxaca*. And the careleſſeneſſe of the *Spaniards* here is to be wondred at, that all along this River which runneth up into the heart of their Country, they have built as yet no Caſtles, Towers, or watch-houſes, or planted any Ordinance, truſting only in this, that great ſhips cannot come up, as if Frigots or ſmaller Barks, ſuch as they themſelves uſe, may not be made to annoy them. But of *Guaxaca* I ſhall ſay no more, but conclude that it is of ſo temperate an air, ſo abounding in fruits, and all proviſion requiſite for mans life, ſo commodiouſly ſituated between the North and South Sea, having on the North ſide St. *John de Ulhua*, and on the South *Tecoantepeque* a ſmall and unfortified harbour, that no place I ſo much deſired to live in whileſt I was in thoſe parts as in *Guaxaca*, which certainly I had attempted as I travailed by it, had I not underſtood that the Criolian or Native Fryers were many and as deadly enemies unto thoſe that came from *Spain* as were the *Mexicans*. And this their ſpight and malice they ſhewed whileſt we were there, to an ancient and grave old Fryer Maſter in Divinity, who living had been for learning the Oracle of thoſe parts. This old man died when I was there, and becauſe when he lived they could pick no hole in his Coat, being dead they ſearched his chamber, and finding in a Coffer ſome monies which he had not made known to his Superiour when living (which they would reduce to a ſin againſt his profeſſed poverty, called Propriety, and ſubject to the cenſure of Excommunication) they reported that he had died excommunicated, and might not enjoy their Chriſtian buriall in the Church or Cloiſter, and ſo ignominiouſly buried their old Divine, and with him his Credit and reputation in a grave made in one of their Gardens. A thing much talked on as ſcandalous to all the City and Country, which they ſalved with ſaying he was excommunicated; but the truth was, he was of *Spain*, and therefore at his death they would

would shew their spight unto him. For certainly they could not do it for the sin of Propriety which by him had been committed in his life; and to them all may be well said what our Saviour said to the Jews bringing to him a woman found in adultery to be stoned, Whosoever of you is without sin, let him cast the first stone; for all of them, yea even the best Fryers that live in *America*, are some way or other, much or lesse guilty of the sin of Propriety which they professe and vow against. With this which we saw with our eyes, besides what with our ears we had heard of discords and factions amongst them, we thought *Guaxaca* was no place for us to live in; so after three dayes we made hast out of it, and departed towards *Chiapa*, which lyeth three hundred miles from thence. And for our comfort in our further travailing we were informed in *Guaxaca*, that in most Towns of the Rode through that country, the *Indians* had an order from the high Justice to give unto Fryers travailing that way either horse to ride on, or to carry their carriages and provision of food freely without mony, if they had none, so that at their departure they should write it down in the Town book what they had spent, not abiding above four and twenty houres in the Town; which expences of travailes the *Indians* afterwards at the years end of their ordinary Justice and Officers were to give an account of with carrying their Town book unto the *Spanish* Justice to whom they belonged, and by so doing these expences were allowed of to be discharged by the common Town Purse or Treasure, for the which a common plat of ground was allotted to be yearly sowen with wheat or *Maiz*. With this charitable relief and help of the Townes wee conceived better of the rest of our long journey, and hoped to compasse it with more ease. And so joyfully we went on, and the first place where we made triall of this order was at a great Town called *Antequera*, where we freely called for our fowles and what other provision we saw in the Town, fed heartily on them, and the next day when we were to pay and to depart, we called for the Town book, subscribed our hands to what we had spent our selves and horses, and went our way, praising the discretion of the Justices of that Country, who had setled a course so easie and comfortable for us, especially who had but shallow purses for our long journey. Yet we found in some small Towns that the *Indians* were unwilling, and (as thay alleadged) unable to extend this Charity to us, being four in company, and bringing with us the charge likewise of four horses, which made us sometimes make the longer journey that we might reach unto some great and rich Town. The next to *Antiquera* in that Rode is *Nixapa*, which is of at the least eight hundred Inhabitans, *Spaniards* and *Indians*, standing upon the side of a River, which we were informed was an arme of the great River *Alvarado*. In this Town is a very rich Cloister of Dominican Fryers, where we were well entertained; and in it there is a picture of our Lady, which superstitiously they fancy to have wrought miracles, and is made a pilgrimage from far and near, and consequently hath great riches and lampes belonging unto it. This is counted absolutely one of the wealthiest places of all the Country of *Guaxaca*; for here is made much Indigo, Sugar, Cochinil; and here grow many trees of *Cacao*, and *Achiotte*, whereof is made the *Chocolatte*, and is a commodity of much trading in those parts, though our *English* and *Hollanders* make little of it when they take a prize of it at Sea, as not knowing the secret virtue and quality of it for the good of the stomach. From hence we went to *Aguatulco* and *Capalita*, also great Towns standing upon a plain Country full of Sheep and Cattell, abounding with excellent fruits, especially *Pines* and *Sandia's*, which are as big as Pumpions, and so wateriſh that they even melt like snow in the mouth, and cool the heat which there is great, by reason it is a low and Marsh kind of ground, lying near the South Sea. The next chief Town and most considerable after *Capalita* is *Tecoantequepete*; this is a Sea Town upon *Mar del Zur*, and a harbour for small vessels, such as Trade from those parts to *Acapulco* and *Mexico*, and to *Realejo* and *Guatemala*, and sometimes to *Panama*. Here upon some occasions Ships which come from *Peru* to *Acapulco* do call in. It is a port no farther safe, then that no *English* or *Holland* Ships do come thereabouts, which if they did, they would there find no resistance, but from thence would find an open and easie Rode over all the Country. Upon all this South Sea side from *Acapulco* to *Panama*, which is above two thousand miles by land there is no open harbour, but this for *Guaxaca*, and *La Trinidad* for *Guatemala*, and *Realejo* for *Nicaragua*, and *Golfo de Salinas* for small vessels in *Costa Rica*, and all these unprovided of Ordinance and Ammunition, all open dores to let in any Nation that would take the pains to surround

the World to get a treasure. This port of *Tecoantepeque* is the chief for fishing in all that Countrey; we met here in the wayes sometimes with fifty, sometimes with a hundred mules together laden with nothing but salt fish for *Guaxaca*, the City of *Angels* and *Mexico*. There are some very rich Merchants dwell in it, who trade with *Mexico*, *Peru* and *Philippinas*, sending their small vessels out from Port to Fort, which come home richly laden with the Commodities of all the Southerne or Easterne parts. From hence to *Guatemala* there is a plain Rode along the Coast of the South sea, passing through the Provinces of *Soconuzco* and *Suchutepeque's* but we aiming at *Chiapa* took our journey over the high Rocks and Mountains called *Quelenes*, travailing first from *Tecoantepeque* to *Estepeque*, and from thence through a desert of two dayes journey, where we were fain to lodge one night by a spring of water upon the bare ground in open wide fields, where neither Town nor house is to be seen; yet thatcht lodges are purposely made for travailers. This plain lyeth so open to the Sea, that the wind from thence blows so strongly and violently that travailers are scarce able to sit their horses and mules; which is the reason no people inhabit there, because the windes tear their houses, and the least fire that there breaks out, doth a great deal of mischief. This plain yet is full of Cattell, and Horses and Mares, some wilde, some tame; and through this windy Champaigne Countrey with much adoe we travailed; though my self thought I should even there end my dayes, for the second day being to reach to a Town, and my three friends riding before, thinking that I followed them, evening now drawing on they made more haste to find the Town. But in the mean while my horse refused to go any further, threatning to lie down if I put him to more then he was able. I knew the Town could not be far, and so I lighted, thinking to walk and lead my horse, who also refused to be led, and so lay down. With this a troop of thoughts beset me, and to none I could give a flat answer. I thought if I should go on foot to find out the Town and my company and leave my horse there sadled, I might both lose my selfe, and my horse and saddle; and if I should find the Town and come in the morning for my horse, the plain was so wide and spacious, that I might seek long enough, and neither find him, nor know the place where I left him, for there was nothing near to mark the place, nor where to hide the saddle, neither hedge, tree, shrub, within a mile on any side. Wherefore I considered my best course would be to take up my lodging in the wide and open wilderneſse with my horse, and to watch him lest he should wander and stray away, untill the morning or untill my friends might send from the Town to see what was become of me; which they did not that night, thinking I had taken my way to another Town not far from thence, whither they sent in the morning to enquire for me. I looked about therefore for a commodious place to rest in, but found no choise of lodgings, every where I found a bed ready for me, which was the bare ground; a bolster only or pillow I wanted for my head, and seeing no bank did kindly offer it selfe to ease a lost stranger, and pilgrime, I unsadled my weary Jade, and with my saddle fitted my head in stead of a pillow. Thus without a supper I went to bed in my Mothers own bosome, not a little comforted to see my tired horse pluck up his spirits, and make much of his supper, which there was ready for him, of short, dry and withered grasse, upon which he fed with a greedy and hungry stomach, promising me by his feeding that the next day he would performe a journey of at least thirty or forty miles. The poor beast fed apace, my carefull eye watched him for at least an hour, when upon a suddain I heard such an hideous noise of howling, barking and crying, as if a whole Army of dogs were come into the wilderneſse, and howled for want of a prey of some dead horse or mule. At first the noise seemed to be a pretty way off from me; but the more I hearkened unto it, the nigher it came unto me, and I observed it was not of dogs by some intermixt shriekings as of Christians, which I perceived in it. An observation too sad for a lone man without any help or comfort in a wilderneſse, which made my hair to stand upright, my heart to pant, my body to be covered with a fearfull sweat as of death. I expected nothing else, not knowing from whence the noise proceeded; sometimes I thought of Witches, sometimes of Devils, sometime of *Indians* turned into the shape of beasts, (which amongst some hath been used) sometimes of wild and savage beasts, and from all these thoughts I promised my self nothing but sure death, for the which I prepared my self recommending my soul to the Lord, whileſt I expected my body should be a prey to cruell and mercileſse beasts; or

some

ſome inſtruments of that roaring Lion who in the Apoſtle goeth about ſeeking whom he may devoure. I thought I could not any wayes prevail by flying or running away, but rather might that way run my ſelf into the jawes of death; to hide there was no place, to lie ſtill I thought was ſafeſt, for if they were wilde beaſts, they might follow their courſe another way from me, and ſo I might eſcape. Which truly proved my ſafeſt courſe, for while I lay ſweating and panting, judging every cry, every howling and ſhriking as an alarm to my death, being in this agony and fearfull conflict till about midnight, on a ſuddain the noiſe ceaſed, ſleep (though but the ſhadow of death) ſeized upon my wearied body, and forſook me not, till the mornings glorious lamp ſhining before my ſlumbering eyes and driving away deaths ſhadow greeted me with life and ſafety. When I awaked, my ſoul did magnifie the Lord for my deliverance from that nights danger, I looked about and ſaw my horſe alſo near the place where I had left him, I ſadled him preſently with deſire to leave that wilderneſſe and to find out my company, and to impart unto them what that night had happened unto me; I had not rid above a mile, when I came to a brook of water, where were two wayes, the one ſtraight forward along the deſert, where I could diſcover no Town, nor houſes, nor trees in a proſpect of five or ſix miles at leaſt; the other way was on the left hand, and that way ſome two or three miles off I ſaw a wood of trees, I imagined there might be the Town; I followed that way, and within a quarter of a mile my horſe began to complain of his poor provender the night before, and to ſlight me for it; I was fain to light and lead him; and thus again diſcouraged with my horſe, and diſcomforted for the uncertainty of my way, looking about I ſpied a thatcht houſe on the one ſide of the way, and one on horſeback, who came riding to me; it was an *Indian* belonging to that houſe which was the farme of a rich *Indian*, and Governour of the next Town, of whom I asked how far it was to the Town of *Eſtepeque*, he ſhewed me the trees, and told me that a little beyond them it ſtood, and that I ſhould not ſee it untill I came unto it. With this I got up again and ſpurred my ſullen jade, untill I reached unto the trees, where he was at a ſtand and would go no further. Then I unſadled him, and hid my ſaddle under ſome low ſhrubs, and leaving my horſe (whom I feared not that any would ſteal him) I walked unto the Town which was not above halfe a mile from thence, where I found my three friends were waiting for me, and grieved for the loſſe of me, had ſent to another Town to enquire for me; it was the leaſt thought they had that I had been a lodger in the deſert. When I related unto them and to the *Indians* the noiſe and howling that I had heard, the *Indians* anſwered me that that was common muſick to them almoſt every night, and that they were Wolves and Tigres which they feared not, but did often meet them, and with a ſtick or hollowing did ſcare them away, and that they were only ravenous for their Fowles, Colts, Calves or Kids. After a little diſcourſe I returned with an *Indian* to ſeek my horſe and ſaddle, and in that Town I ſold my wearied *Mexican* beaſt, and hired another to *Ecatepeque* whither we went all four friends again in company. Where note that in this plain and champaign country of *Tecoantepeque* are five rich and pleaſant Townes full of fruits and proviſion of victuall, all ending in *Tepeque*, to wit, *Tecoantepeque*, *Eſtepeque*, *Ecatepeque*, *Sanatepeque*, and *Tapanatepeque*. Now from *Ecatepeque* we could diſcover the high mountains of *Quelenes*, which were the ſubject of moſt of our diſcourſe to *Sanatepeque*, and from thence to *Tapanatepeque*. For we had been informed by *Spaniards* and Travailers in the way, that they were the moſt dangerous mountains to travail over that were in all thoſe parts; and that there were on the top of them ſome paſſages ſo narrow, and ſo high, and ſo open to the boiſterous winds that came from the South-ſea, which ſeemed to lie at the very bottom of them; and on each ſide of theſe narrow paſſages ſuch deep precipices amongſt rocks, that many times it had happened, that the wind blowing furiouſly had caſt down Mules laden with heavy carriages down the rockes, and likewiſe Horſe-men had been blown down both Horſe and man. The ſight of the rocks and mountains did terrifie us, and the report of them did much affright us, ſo that in all this way we did confer which way to take, whether the rode way to *Guatemala* which lieth under thoſe mountains along the coaſt by the Country of *Soconuzco*, from whence (though out of our way) we might have turned to *Chiapa*, or whether we ſhould ſteer our right courſe to *Chiapa* over thoſe mountains, which we had been informed, we might ſafely paſſe over if the winds did not blow two boiſterouſly. We reſolved that when we came to *Tapanatepeque* we would chooſe our way according as

the winds did favour or threaten us, but however to *Chiapa* we would go, becauſe there we had underſtood was the Superiour and Provincial of all the Dominicans of thoſe parts, (to whom we ought to addreſſe our ſelves) and alſo becauſe we would ſee that famous and much talked of Province of *Chiapa*. In *Sanatepeque* we met with a Fryer who gave us ſtately entertainment, and from thence gave us *Indians* to guide us to *Tapanatepeque*, and a letter to the chief of the Town (which alſo was at his command) to give us Mules to carry us, and *Indians* to guide us up the mountains. Here the reſt of our Horſes alſo failed us, but their wearineſſe was no hinderance to us, for the *Indians* were willing to give us as much or more then they had coſt us, becauſe they were true *Mexican* breed, and all the way we went to *Chiapa* and through that country to *Guatemala* the Towns were to provide us of Mules for nothing. We came to *Tapanatepeque* (which ſtandeth at the bottome and foot of *Quelenes*) on Saturday night, and with the letter we carryed were very much welcomed and entertained well by the *Indians*.

This Town is one of the ſweeteſt and pleaſanteſt of any we had ſeen from *Guaxaca* thither, and it ſeems God hath repleniſhed it with all ſorts of comforts which Travailers may need to aſcend up thoſe dangerous and ſteepy rocks. Here is great plenty of cattell for fleſh, and rich *Indians* which have farmes, called there *Eſtantia's*, in ſome a thouſand, in ſome three or four thouſand head of cattell; fowles here are in abundance, fiſh the beſt ſtore and choiſeſt of any Town from *Mexico* thither; for the Sea is hard by it, and beſides there runneth by it a ſmall river which yeelds divers ſorts of fiſh. From the mountains there fall ſo many ſprings of water, that with them the *Indians* water at their pleaſure their gardens which are ſtored with much herbage and ſallets. The ſhade which defends from the heat (which there is great) is the daughter of moſt ſweet and goodly fruit trees, and of Orange, Lemmon, Citron and Fig leaves. The Sabbath morning was ſo calme that we deſired to make uſe of it, leſt by longer delayes the winds ſhould ſtay us, or force us to the coaſt of *Soconuſco*. But the *Indians* intreated us to be their gueſſe at dinner, not doubting but the weather would hold, and promiſing us to provide us ſtrong and luſty Mules, and proviſion of fruits, and fried fiſh, or fowles, or what our ſelves deſired. We could not refuſe this their kind offer, and ſo ſtayed dinner with them. After dinner our Mules wee brought, and two *Indians* to guide us and carry our proviſion, which was ſome fried fiſh, and a cold roſted Capon, with ſome fruit as much as might ſuffice us for a day, for the chief aſcent and danger is not above ſeven leagues, or one and twenty *Engliſh* miles; and then beyond the top of the mountains three miles is one of the richeſt farms for Horſes, Mules, and Cattell, in all the Country of *Chiapa*, where we knew we ſhould be welcomed by one *Don John de Toledo*, who then lived there. Though theſe mountains ſhew themſelves with ſeverall ſharpe pointed heads, and are many joyned together, yet one of them is only mentioned in that Country by the travailers, which is called *Maquilapa*, over the which lyeth the way to *Chiapa*. To this high, ſteepy, and craggy *Maquilapa* we took our journey after dinner, and were by the proud mountaine that night well entertained, and harboured in a green plat of ground reſembling a meadow, which lay as a rib of the one ſide of that huge and more then *Pyrenian* monſter. The *Indians* comforted us with the ſhews of fair weather, and told us that they doubted not but the next day at noon we ſhould be at *Don John de Toledo* his *Eſtantia*, or farme. With this we ſpread our ſupper upon the green table-cloth, and at that firſt meal eat up our Capon and moſt of the proviſion of our cold fried fiſh, leaving only a bit for our mornings breakefaſt, the ſprings of water like Conduit-pipes, trickling down the rocks, gave us melodious muſick to our ſupper; the *Indians* fed merrily, and our Mules contentedly, and ſo the fountain Nymphes ſung us aſleep till morning, which ſeemed to us as calme and quiet as the day before, and encouraged us haſtily to ſnatch that bit which we had left and ſo up from breakefaſt, to ſay merrily, up to *Maquilapa*. We had not winded the mountain upwards much above a mile, when the higher we mounted, the more we heard the wind from above whiſtling unto us, and forbidding us to go any further. We were now half way up, and doubtfull what we ſhould do, whether go forward, or return to *Tapanatepeque* to eat more fiſh, or to ſtay where we were a while untill the weather were more calme, which we thought might be at noon or towards evening. The *Indians* told us that about a mile further there was a fountain of water, and a lodge made under trees on purpoſe for Travailers that

were

were either benighted or hindred by the winds to compaſſe their journey up the mountain. Thither we went with much adoe, hoping the wind would fall; but ſtill the higher we climed, the ſtonger we felt the breath of *Æolus*, and durſt not like the people called *Pſilli* (of whom *Herodotus* writeth) march againſt him, leſt as they in ſtead of a victory found a grave in the ſands where they met to oppoſe him, ſo we in ſtead of aſcending ſhould by a furious blaſt be made to deſcend into thoſe deep and horrid precipices, which truely threatned death, and offered themſelves to be a grave unto our torn and mangled bodies. We liked the fountain very well, and the lodge better for the harbour of trees which compaſſed it about. The winde kept on breathing, and we ſtood ſtill fearing, till the day was ſo far ſpent that we had no hopes of going back, or forward. Of any ſupper we deſpaired that night, who would have been glad now to have picked a bone of a Capons leg, or to have ſucked a fiſhes head, and ſaw there was nothing for us, but only to feed our hungry ſtomachs with the remembrance of the plenty the night before. Thus gazing one upon another, and ſometimes looking down to the fountain, ſometimes looking up to the trees, we perceived amongſt them a Lemmon tree, full of ſmall and very ſowre green Lemmons. It was not with us as with *Tantalus* who could neither injoy the fruit above him, nor the waters beneath him; we could and did moſt greedily catch and ſnatch the Lemmons, which were ſawce for no meat, but only to fill an empty ſtomach; with them we ſupped and took our reſt. The next morning the wind was rather ſtronger then calmer, and we as ſtrong the ſecond day as the firſt in our purpoſe of ſtaying there, and not turning our backes like Cowards. The *Indians* were alſo willing to ſtay yet one day longer; ſo we fell to our breakfaſt of Lemmons which were ſomewhat cool to a faſting ſtomach, and reliſhed nothing the better with a draught from the clear fountain. And of what we left on the tree we made our dinner and ſupper, adding to our water what we ſaw the *Indians* did drink, who had their ſmall bags full of powder of their Maiz, of which firſt making cakes as dry as bisket they then grind them to powder, and when they travaile, carry with them that powder to drink with water. This we thought might be more nouriſhing to us, then Lemmons and water only, and ſo for that day we bought of them half a bagfull of powder giving for it in our want and neceſſity four rials, or two *Engliſh* ſhillings, which out of *Maquilapa* and that our fear of ſtarving might not be worth above a penny; and yet this was but weak nouriſhment for our feeble bodies. Thus we waited all Tueſday for the laying of the wind, reſolving the next morning either to go up the hill, or down again to *Tapanatepeque*. But on Wedneſday morning the wind ſeeming to be ſomewhat laid, we purpoſed to ſtay till noon hoping then it would be ſure travailing; but it ceaſed not but rather increaſed a little; whereupon one of our company reſolved to go upwards a mile or two on foot, and trie the paſſages, and the danger of the wind and to bring us word again; for we thought our fear might be greater then the danger, who had heard much talke, but had not as yet ſeen any thing worth our fear. Up therefore went our friend, who ſtaid from us near two houres, and then returning back he told us he thought we might get up leading our Mules by the bridles. But what with further queſtions and debates the time paſſed away, ſo that we thought it might be too late; and for that day we put off our journey untill the next morning, reſolutely purpoſing to go forwards altogether if the wind were not much increaſed. So that day we fell again to our green crabby Lemmons, water and Maiz powder; all which we found had much weakned our bodies and feared if we continued there any longer they might haſten our death. Wherefore on Thurſday morning (the wind being as the day before) commending our ſelves firſt unto the protection of that Lord whom the winds and ſea obey, we mounted up upon our Mules (leaving our names written in the bark of a great tree, and the dayes we ſtayed there without food) and ſo went upward. We perceived no great danger in the wind a great while, but ſome ſteps and paſſages upon ſtony rocks we feared for the narrowneſſe of them, and there we lighted, thinking our ſelves ſafer upon our own two feet, then upon the four feet of a beaſt. But when we came up to the very top of *Maquilapa* (which ſignifies in that tongue, A head without hair) we perceived truly the danger ſo much talked of; and wiſhed our ſelves again with our green Lemmons in the way to *Tapanatepeque*, for we found it indeed a head without hair, a top without a tree or branch to ſhelter a fearfull Traveller; the paſſage that lieth open to the ſea may be no more then a quarter of a mile, but the height and narrowneſſe of it ſtupefieth, for if we look on

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the one ſide, there is the wide and ſpacious South ſea lying ſo deep and low under it, that it dazleth the eyes to behold it; if we look on the other ſide, there are rockes of at leaſt ſix or ſeven miles depth; whoſe ſight doth make the ſtouteſt and hardeſt heart (though like themſelves) to quake and quiver; ſo that here the ſea expects to ſwallow, there the rocks threaten to tear with a downfall, and in the midſt of thoſe dangers in ſome places the paſſage is not above an ell broad. We needed better cordials for that quarter of a mile then feeding three dayes upon green Lemmons and water, and durſt not man our ſelves ſo much as to go through it upon our Mules; we lighted, and gave the *Indians* our Mules to lead, and we followed them one by one not daring to walk upright for fear of head giddineſſe with looking on either ſide, but bowing our bodies we crept upon our hands and feet as near unto the trackes which beaſts and Travailers had made as we could without hindering our going. And when we had got to the end of that paſſage, and where the mountain was broader, and the trees promiſed relief, we then looked back boldly, and accuſed of folly both our ſelves and all other Travailers that ſought no other way though ten miles about, to avoid that danger both for man and beaſt. From thence joyfully we made haſt to *Don Iohn de Toledo*, who made us welcome and gave us ſome warme broath to comfort our ſtomachs, which were ſo weak that no ſooner had we eat any thing, but preſently we caſt it up again; till after many ſups of broath and wine we recovered ſtrength towards night, and eat our ſuppers; there we ſtayed two dayes; and thus throughly refreſhed we went to *Acapala* a very great Town of *Indians* in the Province of *Chiapa*, ſtanding by the ſame river that paſſeth by *Chiapa*, which is called *Chiapa de Indios*, or *Chiapa* of the *Indians*, to diſtinguiſh it from another *Chiapa*, called *Chiapa Reall* the *Roial Chiapa*, or *Chiapa de Eſpanoles*, *Chiapa* of the *Spaniards*. From *Acapala* we went firſt to *Chiapa* of the *Indians*, which ſtandeth almoſt as low as *Maquilapa* is high, ſeated upon a river as broad as is the *Thames* at *London*, which hath its ſpring from the mountains called *Cuchumatlanes*, in the rode from *Chiapa Roial* to *Guatemala*, and runnes towards the Province of *Zoques*, where it entreth into the river of *Tabaſco*. But of this *Chiapa* I will ſpeak a little more in the next Chapter, and now only ſay that here we were joyfully entertained by thoſe Fryers, who looked upon us as members belonging to the Corporation of that their Province, and aſſured us that the Provinciall and chief Superiour would be very glad of our coming, who wanted *Spaniſh* Fryers to oppoſe the Criolians and Natives who ſtrived to get a head as they had done in *Mexico* cnd *Guaxaca*. Here we underſtood that the Provinciall was not above one dayes journey from thence. Here alſo we met with our friend *Peter Borallo*, who had come before us alone, and made his eſcape from *Mexico*; he comforted us much with the good and kind uſage which he had found there; yet he told us how *Calvo* was gone with the reſt of his train from *Mexico* to *Acapulco*, and from thence was ſhipped with them to *Philippinas*; but that at his departure he had writ a letter of bitter complaints unto the Superiour of *Chiapa* and *Guatemala* againſt him and us four, deſiring the Provinciall not to entertain us, but to ſend us back to *Mexico*, to be ſhipped from thence the next year unto *Philippinas*; which letter was not regarded, but much ſlighted by the Provinciall. After we had been a week feaſted in *Chiapa*, we thought it now fit to preſent our ſelves to the Provinciall (whoſe name was Fryer *Peter Alvarez*) that from him we might receive judgement, and know whether we ſhould ſtay in that Province, or be forced to return to *Spain*, for in no other part of *America* we could be entertained. We found the Provinciall in a little Town called St. *Chriſtopher*, between *Chiapa* of the *Indians* and the *Roiall Chiapa*, recreating himſelf in the ſhady walkes, which are many ſweet and pleaſant in that ſmall Town; where alſo there is ſtore of fiſh, and great abundance of rare and exquiſite fruits. He entertained us very lovingly with faire and comfortable words, with a ſtately dinner and ſupper, and before we went to bed, to ſhew his humility he did unto us what Chriſt to his Diſciples, he waſhed our feet. The firſt day he ſaid little or nothing unto us concerning our continuing in that Country; but the next day he diſcovered unto us his full reſolutions, with many wiſe and cunning ſophiſmes. For firſt he read unto us the letter which *Calvo* had writ unto him againſt us, gloſſing upon it how ill we had done in forſaking our firſt love and calling to *Philippinas*, and the danger many *Indian* ſouls might be in by reaſon of our not going thither to convert and inſtruct them, whoſe gifts and abilities he ſuppoſed might have been more profitable and comfortable to thoſe ſouls, then thoſe who in our ſtead and abſence ſhould be ſent amongſt

them

them. And secondly, he told us how he had frustrated the King of *Spains* good hopes of us who had allowed us means and maintenance from *Spain* to *Mexico*, hoping that by us many souls of *Indians* in *Philippinas* might be saved. Thirdly, he told us that he looked upon us as his prisoners, in whose power it was to imprison us, and to send us prisoners to *Mexico* to the Viceroy, to be shipped from thence to *Manila*, according to *Calvo* his demand. But for the present he would not let us know what he meant to do with us; Only he bad us not to be discouraged, but to be merry and recreate our selves, and that after dinner we should know more from him, when he had received an answer to a Letter which he had writ unto the City of *Chiapa* concerning the disposall of our persons. These reasonings of the grave and old Provinciall did not a little sad our hearts; for the losse of soules, the King of *Spain* his intentions and charity charged upon us, and imprisonment spoke of by the by, were words which seemed of a very high strain, and so could hardly be digested by us; this mornings breakfast had quite taken away from us our stomach to our dinner. And thus we departed from the presence of the venerable Fryer *Peter Alvarez*, and betook our selves to a shady walke under Orange trees belonging to the house where this Superiour was. In this shade we conferred with our selves upon the words of *Alvarez*, and finding them of so high a nature, as involving soules, a King and imprisonment, we thought verily we should be sent back to *Mexico*, and from thence like fugitive slaves be forced to *Philippinas*. Here my hopes of ever more seeing *England* were lost; *Antonio Melendez* his heart panted, wished himself again upon the highest top of *Maquilapa*; another wished himself with old *Calvo* at Sea sailing to *Manila*, though it were but to help him scrape his rusty Gammons of Bacon.

The motion was made to make an escape from *Alvarez*; as we had done from *Calvo*; but to this answer was made, that whither so ever we went, not knowing the Country, we should be discovered; and that put case the worst, we should be sent to *Mexico*, we might better escape in the way, then there where we were. At last I told the rest, that I could conceive no hard nor harsh usage from that smiling and loving countenance of the Provinciall, nor after that his low and humble act of washing our feet the night before; and that I thought verily he wished us well for having come so far to offer our selves for fellow labourers in that harvest of souls belonging to his charge, and whom we knew wanted such as we were newly come from *Spain* to oppose the Criolians or Natives faction in that Province; alleadging furthermore the example of our friend and companion *Peter Berallo*, whom he had already incorporated into that Province, and could do no lesse with us without partiality and acceptation of persons. And lastly, my opinion was, that in case we ought not to be entertained there, yet the Provinciall would not send us back to *Mexico*, there to be disgraced and affronted, but would give way unto us to return to *Spain*, or whither else we would, with some relief and mony in our purses. Whilst we were thus troubled, and in this sad and serious discourse, old *Alvarez* it seems had been eying of us from his window, and as *Joseph* could not long suppresse and keep in the expressions of a loving and tender heart unto his brethren; so this good Superior perceiving that we were troubled with what he had said unto us, sent his companion unto us to comfort us; which we easily perceived by his discourse when he came unto us. For as soon as he came he asked us why we were so sad and melancholy? he told us, the Provinciall also had observed that we were troubled. But, said he, be of good chear; be confident that the Provinciall wisheth you very well, and needeth such as you are, and having come into his Dominion to thrust your selves upon his mercy, by harsh and unkind usage he will not do what Martiall Law forbids a hard hearted Souldier to do unto his enemy upon such termes. Many such comfortable words did he speak unto us; and told us further that the Provinciall had been much censured by the Criolian party for entertaining of *Peter Borallo*; and that now they would stir worse seeing four more come to weaken their faction; and therefore he desired to be well advised concerning us, and to carry our businesse with such discretion, as might give little offence to those who were apt to judge and censure the best of all his actions. And finally he did assure us, that we should never be sent back as prisoners to *Mexico* by the Provinciall, who in case he could not entertain us in *Chiapa*, or *Guatemala*, would further us with all his favour, and friends, and mony in our purses to return again to *Spain*. These reasons were heart fainting Cordials unto us, and stomach preparatives to a

good

good dinner, to which by the ſound of a bell we were invited. When we came in, the loving, ſmiling, and fatherly countenance of the good Provinciall did chear us more than all the chear that waited for us upon the table in ſeverall diſhes, all which were ſeaſoned to our Palates with the ſauce of the comfort, which the Provincials meſſenger had brought unto us in the ſhady Orange walke in the garden. The great proviſion of fiſh and fleſh, with fruits and ſweet meats were yet to us a ſtrong argument that we were very welcome; for what we fed on that day, might well become a Noble mans Table; Beſides in many paſſages of our diſcourſe we perceived that good old *Alvarez* his heart was over-joyed with our coming to him. Dinner being ended the Provinciall deſired to play a game at Tables with us round about, ſaying he would not win our money, becauſe he judged us poor after ſo long a journey. But thus he ſetled the game and ſport; that if he did win, we ſhould ſay for him five *Pater Noſters*, and five *Ave Maries*; but if we wun, we ſhould win our admittance, and Incorporation into that Province. This ſport pleaſed us well, for our winnings we judged would be to us more profitable at that time, then to win pounds, and our loſings we valued not; beſides we were confident all went well with us, when from the favour of the Dice, we might challenge that favour which with many weary journeys we had come to ſeek above four hundred miles. The ſport began, and we young blades taking one by one our turns, were too hard for the old man, who as we perceived would willingly be the loſer, that his very loſſes might ſpeak unto us what through policy and diſcretion he would not utter with words. Yet we boldly challenged our winnings, which as ſoon as we had ended our game were now ſurely confirmed unto us by the return of an *Indian* meſſenger, who that morning had been ſent to the City of *Chiapa* for advice and counſell from the Prior and the chief of the Cloiſter concerning our diſpoſall, and now was returned with an anſwer from the Prior, who in his letter expreſſed great joy unto the Provinciall for our coming, and ſo from the reſt of the Seniors of the Cloiſter, and did earneſtly beg of the Superiour, that he would ſend us to him to be his gueſts, for that our caſe had been his own ſome ten years before, for he had alſo at *Mexico* forſaken his company to *Philippinas*, and fled to *Guatemala*, where for his learning and good parts he had been as a ſtranger much envied by the Criolian faction; but now he hoped he ſhould have ſome to ſide with him againſt ſuch as ſpighted and maligned him. Old *Alvarez* was much taken with his letter, and told us he muſt pay what he had loſt, and that the next day he would ſend us to *Chiapa*, there to abide untill he took further care of us, to ſend us to other parts of the Country, to learn the *Indian* languages, that we might preach unto them. This diſcourſe being ended we betook our ſelves again to the Garden which ſmelled more of comfort then before dinner, and to our ſhady walks which now offered us a ſafer protection then they had done in the forenoon, countenancing that protection which we had gained from the Provinciall.

Here we began to praiſe God, who had looked upon us in our low eſtate, not forgetting the wiſe and politick Provinciall, who though he had loſt his games for our comfort, we would not he ſhould loſe our prayers, which there we offered up to God for his health and ſafety. And ſo till ſupper time we continued our diſcourſe in the Garden fuller of mirth and pleaſant jeſts, then we had done before dinner, ſnatching now and then at the Oranges and Lemmons which were there both ſowre and ſweet, eating of ſome, and caſting ſome one at another, but eſpecially at him who had wiſhed himſelf with *Calvo* dreſſing his ruſty Bacon, whom we ſtrived to beat out of the garden by force of Orange and Lemmon bullets; which ſport we continued the more willingly, becauſe we perceived the good Provinciall ſtood behind a Lattice in a Balcony beholding us, and rejoycing to ſee our hearts ſo light and merry. We had no ſooner beat *Calvo* his friend out of the garden, when the bell to ſupper ſounded a retreat to us all, and called us again to meet our beſt friend *Alvarez*, who had furniſhed us a Table again like that at noon. After ſupper he told us that the next morning he would ſend us to *Chiapa*, for that the Prior had writ unto him he would meet us in the way with a Breakfaſt at a Town called St. *Philip*; wherewith we conceited very highly of our ſelves to ſee that Provincials and Priors were ſo forward to feaſt us. Yet before we went to bed, the Provinciall would try again a game at Tables with every one of us; to ſee if now he could beat us that had been too hard for him at noon. The matter of our game was now altered, and what we played for was this; if the Provinciall

vinciall wun, we were to be his priſoners, (which myſtery we underſtood not till the next day, for the old man was crafty and Politick, and knew he could win of us when he lifted, for he was an excellent gameſter at Tables) but if we wun of him, he was to give us a box of *Chocolatte*, which was a drink we liked very well. The Game went on, and we every one of us one by one were loſers, yet underſtood not how we ſhould be his priſoners, but ſlighted our loſſes. Yet for all this the merry Provinciall told us, he was ſory we had loſt, and wiſhed we might never be priſoners to a worſe enemie then he; and that we ſhould perceive it, he would comfort us each one as a priſoner with a box of *Chocolatte*, to drink for his ſake, and to comfort our hearts, when moſt we ſhould find them diſcomforted for our loſſes. We underſtood not his meaning till the next day at noon, but though it was a jeſt and a word of ſport and mirth, like many ſuch which in his diſcourſe had come from him.

With this we took our leaves, and went to bed with light and merry hearts. In the morning two Mules of the Provinciall and two of his Companion were ſadled for us, and at leaſt a dozen *Indians* on horſe back waited for us to conduct us up a ſteepy hill and through woods to the Town of St. *Philip*. After our breakfaſt the good Provinciall imbraced us, and bad us farewell, deſiring us to pray for him; and not to be diſcouraged by any thing that might befall us, aſſuring us he wiſhed us very well, and would do what lay in his power for our good; yet ſo, that he muſt uſe policy and diſcretion to ſtop the mouths of the Criolians, whom he knew hated both him and us. Thus we departed with Waits and Trumpets ſounding before us, which rebounded an Echo all the way up the hill from us to old *Alvarez* whom we had left in a low bottome compaſſed about with hils on every ſide. We had no ſooner aſcended up to the top of the Mountain, when we diſcovered a little Valley, and in it the City of *Chiapa* of the *Spaniards*; with two or three ſmall Villages, of which one was St. *Philip* at the bottom of the Mountain, which we were to aſcend. The Trumpets which ſtill went ſounding before us were a ſufficient and loud Alarme to St. *Philips* Inhabitants of our coming, and a warning for the ſpeedyer haſtening of our ſecond breakfaſt, for the which the cold morning aire (which we found ſomewhat piercing upon the Mountain) had whetted and through prepared our ſtomachs. We had not got down the Mountain half a mile, when we met with a matter of twenty gallant *Indians* on horſe-back with their trumpeters ſounding before them, and behind them came upon a ſtately Mule the Prior of *Chiapa*, (whoſe name was Father *John Baptiſt*) a merry fat Fryer, who calling us his brethren fugitives from *Philippinas*, told us we were welcome to that country, and to him eſpecially, and that in the next St. *Philip* he would ſhew us better ſport then any St. *Philip* in all the *Philippinas* Iſlands could have ſhowed us, if we had gone thither. Thus with a pleaſant diſcourſe, and many merry conceits from the good Prior we ſoon came down the hill, where the whole Village of St. *Philip* waited for us both men and women, ſome preſenting unto us noſegaies, others hurling Roſes and others flowers in our faces, others dancing before us all along the ſtreet, which was ſtrowed with herbs and Orange leaves, and adorned with many Arches made with flowers and hung with garlands for us to ride under untill we came to the Church, where for half an hour we were welcomed with the beſt muſick from the City of *Chiapa*, which the Prior had hired to come with him to entertain us. Our Muſick being ended, fat Father *John Baptiſt* ſtood up and made a ſhort ſpeech unto the *Indians*, giving them thanks for their kind and pompous entertainment of us his ſpeciall friends, and that their ſouls might gain by it, he granted unto them a plenary indulgence of all their ſins paſt to be gained by as many of them as ſhould viſit that Church the next Lords day either before or afternoon. And thus from the Altar we went unto our breakfaſting Table, which was furniſhed with many well ſeaſoned diſhes of ſalt and well peppered and ſpiced meats, all fit to make us reliſh better a cup of *Spaniſh Pier Ximeny* which the Prior had provided for us. After our ſalt meats, came ſuch rare and exquiſite ſorts of ſweet meats made by *John Baptiſt* his beſt devoted Nuns of *Chiapa*, that the like we had not ſeen from St. *John de Ulhua* to that place. Theſe were to prepare our ſtomachs for a Cup of *Chocolatte*, with the which we ended our breakfaſt. But whilſt all this was gallantly performed by the Prior, it was a hard Riddle unto us, what he often repeated unto us, ſaying, Brethren break your faſt well, for your dinner will be the meaneſt as ever ye did eat in your lives, and now enjoy this

this ſweet liberty which will not laſt long unto you. We obſerved the words, but knew not what to make of them, till we came unto the Cloiſter. After our breakfaſt the *Indians* ſhewed us a little ſport in the market place, running races on horſe-back, and playing at *Iuego de Canna's*; which is to meet on horſe-back, with broad Targets to defend their heads and ſhoulders, while paſſing by they hurl Canes, or darts one at another, which thoſe *Indians* acted with great dexterity.

Thus the good Prior of *Chiapa* feaſted us, and permitted us to enjoy our liberty as long as it ſeems it had been agreed upon by letters between him and the Provinciall, which was till it might be dinner time in the Cloiſter of *Chiapa*, where we were to be before noon. The time drew near, and we had from St. *Philip* to the City of *Chiapa* ſome two *Engliſh* miles to ride; Wherefore the Prior commanded our Mules to be brought; the waits and trumpets gave warning to the Town of our departure; and ſo with many horſemen, with dances, Muſick and ringing of Bels, we were as ſtately and joyfully conducted out of the Town, as we had been inducted into it. At the firſt half miles end the Prior gave thanks unto the *Indians*, and deſired them to return, the Cloiſter being near where we expected another kind of entertainment, not uſing in the City and cloiſter that pomp and ſtate, which in the Country might be allowed. The *Indians* took their leaves of us; and on we went with only two as guides before us. Within half a mile of the City, the Prior and a companion of his ſtopped, and took out of his pocket an order from the Provinciall, which he read unto us, to this effect, That whereas we had forſaken our lawfull Superiour *Calvo* in the way to *Philippinas*, and without his licence had come unto the Province of *Chiapa*, he could not in conſcience but inflict ſome puniſhment upon us before he did enable us to abide there as members under him; therefore he did ſtrictly command the Prior of *Chiapa*, that as ſoon as we ſhould enter into his Cloiſter, he ſhould ſhut us up two by two in our chambers, as in priſons, for three dayes, not ſuffering us to go out to any place, ſave only to the publick place of refection (called Refectory) where all the Fryers met together to dine and ſup, where at noon time we were to preſent our ſelves before all the Cloiſter ſitting upon the bare ground, and there to receive no other dinner, but only bread and water; but at ſupper we might have in our chambers or priſons, what the Prior would be pleaſed to allow us. This was the Penance enjoyned upon us by the wiſe and cunning Provinciall. This newes at the firſt was but ſowre ſawce, or a dry Poſtpaſt after a double ſumptuous breakfaſt; it was a dolefull ditty to us after our Muſick and dances, to hear of a treble faſt after our feaſt; to hear of impriſonment after ſo great liberty. We now began to remember the Provincials winnings at Tables the night before, and the myſtery thereof, and began to thinke how comfortable his boxes of *Chocolatte* would be unto us after a meale of bread and water. Now we called to minde the ſhort dinner the Prior had told us at St. *Philips* we were like to have that day, and of the liberty he bad us then make much of. But the good Prior ſeeing us ſad upon a ſuddain, and our countenances changed, ſmiled upon us, wiſhing us not to think the worſe of him, nor of the Provinciall, who did that out of Policy, and to ſtop the Criolians mouths, whom he knew would murmur, if no puniſhment were inflicted upon us. He aſſured us, after our impriſonment, of honours and preferments, and that as long as we were with him, we ſhould want no incouragement; and that after a bread and water dinner he could ſend us to our chambers a ſupper, that ſhould ſtrongly ſupport our empty ſtomachs, and fur and line them well for the next four and twenty hours. With theſe incouragements on we went to the Cloiſter of *Chiapa*, where we were welcomed by moſt of the Fryers, but in ſome few we noted a frowning and diſaffected countenance. We were no ſooner conducted to our Chambers, when the bell ſounded to dinner for the reſt, and cryed aloud to us Penance with bread and water. Down we went to the common dining place, and thanks being given, the Fryers ſitting round the tables, we four *Philippinian Jonahs* (ſo ſome Criolians were pleaſed to term us) betook our ſelves to the middle of the Refectory, where without cuſhions, ſtooles, ſeats or formes, we ſat upon the bare ground croſſe legged like tailors, acting humility now for our diſobedience to ſlovenly *Calvo*. While the firſt diſh was preſented round the tables, to each of us was preſented a loaf of reaſonable bigneſſe, and a pot of pure Cryſtall water, whereof we fed and dranke moſt heartily though with full ſtomachs from a double breakfaſt before. Yet even here in this publick Act of ſhame and diſgrace (which we knew was uſuall among Fryers for leſſe faults then ours) we had this comfort, that we had

a Prior and Provinciall for friends, and that that punishment came from a friendly hand, whose Chocolatte we had to comfort our fasting bodies; and secondly, we knew that we should have that night in our prison chambers a better supper then any of those before us, who fed upon their three or four dishes. But thirdly, it was our comfort that at that very time a Criolian Fryer also sat upon the ground with us (of whose company we had been informed by some friends before we went into the refectory) for some love-letters which had been intercepted between him and a Nun of that City, tending to much uncivility, and breaking their oath of professed chastity. But when I perceived this Frier to look discontentedly upon us, I chose my place as near unto him as I could, and hearing him mutter within himself against us, calling us disobedient *Philippinian Jonahs*, I softly and friendly spoke unto him with these two following Hexameters, which suddainly came unto my mind about his misdemeanor,

Si Monialis Amor te turpia scribere fecit,
Ecce tibi frigidæ præbent medicamina lymphæ.

But my good neighbour snuffing and puffing at my suddain muse, seemed to be more discontented then before, and would fain withdraw himself by degrees from me, not rising up (for that was not lawfull to do till dinner had been ended) but wrigling his elbowes and shoulders scornfully from me, whom in like manner I followed; cleaving friendly to him with this verse,

Solamen miseræ est socios retinere Panettes,

He thought I followed him to steal away his loaf from him. This new found word, *Panettes*, had almost choaked him, had he not made use of the medicinall water which stood before him; of the which he dranke a good draught, whereby I perceived his courage against me and my friends was tamed, and I told him, I hoped his burning wanton love was cooled.

Thus with my Criolian neighbours company my bread and water went down cheerfully; and dinner being ended, we were again conducted to our chambers, where we dranke a cup of old *Alvarez* his *Chocolatte*. The *Castilian* Fryers flocked unto our prisons, some to talke with us, some bringing us conserves and sweet-meats, others other dainties, which they had prepared to help our digestion of bread and cold water. My suddain verses to my Criolian neighbour were presently noysed about the Cloister, and were the chief subject of our talke that afternoon. Our supper was provided for us according to the promise and generous spirit of the Prior, who also honoured our prison that night with his own and two other Fryers company, supping with us all in one chamber together. And thus we passed our three dayes of imprisonment merrily and contentedly, wishing we might never suffer harder usage in any prison then we had done in this, which was not to us such a punishment as did bring with it the privation of any liberty of enjoying the company of friends, of feasting with them, but only the privation of the liberty of our legs to walke about those three daies; and this rather an ease then a punishment, for that we wanted rather rest, then much stirring after so long and tedious a journey as we had compassed from *Mexico* thither. We were no sooner set at liberty, but we presently found the Provinciall and Prior ready to dispose of us so, that in lieu of our imprisonment we might receive honour and credit. Two were sent into the Country to learn some *Indian* language, that so they might be beneficed and preach unto the *Indians*. My self and another desired to goe farther to *Guatemala*, that there we might practise Philosophy and Divinity in the famous University of that City. Nothing that we desired was denied unto us, only the time was thought not fit untill *Michaelmas*, because then the schooles were renewed, and new Orders setled. In the mean time the Provinciall having also heard of my verses *ex tempore* to the Criolian Fryer, and knowing that the *Latine* tongue is better grounded in *England* then among the *Spaniards* (who abuse poor *Priscian* and daily break his pate with foolish solœcismes) and considering the want he had of a Master of the *Latine* tongue to supply a Lecture of Grammar and Syntax to the youthes of *Chiapa* in a Schoole in that Cloister; which brought a sufficient yearly stipend unto the Covent, desired me to accept of that place untill such time as he should take care to send me to *Guatemala*, promising me all incouragements in the mean time fitting, and that I should when I would go about to see the Country (which I much desired) and also that out of the schoole annuity I should have my allowance for books,

and other neceſſaries. I could not but accept of this good offer; and ſo with this imployment I remained in that City from *Aprill* to the end of *September*, where I was much eſteemed of by the Biſhop and Governour, but eſpecially by the Prior, who would never ride about the Country for his recreation, but he would take me with him, whereby I had occaſion to note concerning the Province, riches, commodities, and government of *Chiapa*, what in the enſuing Chapter I ſhall faithfully commend unto the Preſſe.

Chap. XV.

Deſcribing the Country of Chiapa, *with the chiefeſt Towns and Commodities belonging unto it.*

THough *Chiapa* in the opinion of the *Spaniards* be held to be one of the pooreſt Countries of *America*; becauſe in it as yet there have been no mines diſcovered, nor golden ſands found in the rivers, nor any haven upon the South ſea, whereby commodities are brought in and carried out, as to *Mexico*, *Guaxaca*, and *Guatemala*; yet I may ſay it exceedeth moſt Provinces in the greatneſſe and beauty of fair Towns, and yeeldeth to none except it be to *Guatemala*; nay it ſurpaſſeth all the reſt of *America* in that one, and famous and moſt populous Town of *Chiapa* of the *Indians*. And it ought not to be ſo much ſlighted by the *Spaniards* as it is, if they would look upon it as ſtanding between *Mexico* and *Guatemala*, whoſe ſtrength might be all *Americaes* ſtrength, and whoſe weakneſſe may prove dangerous to all that flouriſhing Empire, for the eaſy entrance into it by the river of *Tabaſco*, or for its near joyning and bordering unto *Jucatan*. Beſides, the commodities in it are ſuch as do uphold a conſtant trading and commerce amongſt the inhabitants themſelves, and with other neighbouring Countries, and from no one part of *America* doth *Spain* get more *Cochinil* then from one of the Provinces of *Chiapa*; the Towns alſo being great and populous, by their yearly pole tribute do add much to the King of *Spains* revenues.

This Country is divided into three Provinces, to wit, *Chiapa*, *Zeldales*, and *Zoques*; whereof *Chiapa* it ſelf is the pooreſt. This contains the great Town of *Chiapa* of the *Indians*, and all the Towns and farmes North-ward towards *Maquilapa*, and Weſt-ward the Priory of *Comitlan*, which hath ſome ten Towns, and many farmes of Cattle, Horſes, and Mules ſubject unto it; and neighbouring unto it lyeth the great valley of *Capanabaſtla*, which is another Priory reaching towards *Soconuzco*. This valley glorieth in the great river, which hath its ſpring from the mountains called *Cuchumatlanes*, and runneth to *Chiapa* of the *Indians*, and from thence to *Tabaſco*. It is alſo famous for the abundance of fiſh which the river yeeldeth, and the great ſtore of Cattell which from thence miniſter food and proviſion both to the City of *Chiapa*, and to all the adjacent Towns. Though *Chiapa* the City, and *Comitlan* as ſtanding upon the hils, be exceeding cold, yet this valley lying low is extraordinary hot, and from *May* to *Michaelmas* is ſubject to great ſtormes and tempeſts of thunder and lightning. The head Town where the Priory ſtands, is called *Copanabaſtla*, conſiſting of above eight hundred *Indian* inhabitants. But greater then this is *Izquintenango* at the end of the valley and at the foot of the mountains of *Cuchumatlanes* Southward. And yet bigger then this is the Town of St. *Bartholomew* Northward at the other end of the valley, which in length is about fourty miles, and ten or twelve only in breadth. All the reſt of the Towns lie toward *Soconuzco*, and are yet hotter and more ſubject to thunder and lightning, as drawing nearer unto the South ſea coaſt. Beſides the abundance of Cattell, the chief commoditie of this valley conſiſteth in Cotton-wooll, whereof are made ſuch ſtore of mantles for the *Indians* wearing, that the Merchancs far and near come for them. They exchange them to *Soconuzco* and *Xuchutepeques* for *Cacao*, whereby they are well ſtored of that drink. So that the inhabitants want neither fiſh (which they have from the river) nor fleſh (for that the valley abounds with Cattell) nor clothing (for of that they ſpare to others) nor bread, though not of wheat, for there growes none; but *Indian* Maiz they have plenty of; and beſides they are exceedingly ſtored with fowles and Turkeys, fruits, Hony, Tobacco and Sugar-

canes.

canes. Neither is mony here nor in *Chiapa* so plentifull as in *Mexico* and *Guaxaca*; and whereas there they reckon by Patacones, or pieces of eight; here they reckon by Tostones which are but half Patacones. Though the river be many wayes profitable to that valley, yet it is cause of many dysasters to the inhabitants, who lose many times their children, and their Calves and Colts drawing neare to the water-side, where they are devoured by Caymanes, which are many and greedy of flesh, by reason of the many prizes they have got. The City of *Chiapa Real*, is one of the meanest Cities in all *America*, consisting of not above four hundred housholders *Spaniards*, and about an hundred houses of *Indians* joyning to the City, and called *el barrio de los Indios*, who have a Chappell by themselves. In this City there is no Parish Church, but only the Cathedrall, which is mother to all the inhabitants. Besides, there are two Cloisters, one of Dominicans, and the other of Franciscans, and a poor Cloister of Nuns, which are burdensome enough to that City. But the Jesuites having got no footing there (who commonly live in the richest and wealthiest places and Cities) is a sufficient argument of either the poverty of that City, or of want of gallant parts, and prodigality in the gentry, from whose free and generous spirits they like Horse-leeches are still sucking extraordinary and great almes for the Colledges where they live; but here the Merchants are close handed, and the Gentlemen hard, and sparing, wanting of wit and Courtiers parts and bravery, and so poor *Chiapa* is held no fit place for Jesuites. The Merchants chief trading there is in *Cacao*, Cotton-wooll from the adjacent parts of the Country, in Pedlers small wares, and in some Sugar from about *Chiapa* of the *Indians*, in a little *Cochinill*; for commonly the Governour (whose chief gain consisteth in this) will not suffer them to be too free in this commodity, lest they hinder his greedy traffique. These have their shops all together in a little Market-place before the Cathedrall Church, built with walkes and Porches under which the poor *Indian* wives meet at five a clock at evening to sell what slap and drugges they can prepare most cheap for the empty Criolian stomachs. The richer sort of these Merchants go and send yet further to *Tabasco* for wares from *Spain*, such as wines, Linnen cloth, Figs, Raisins, Olives, and Iron; though in these commodities they dare not venture too much, by reason the *Spaniards* in that Country are not very many, and those that are there, are such as are loath to open their purses to more then what may suffice nature. So that what are *Spanish* commodities are chiefly brought for the Fryers who are the best and jovialest blades of that Country. The Gentlemen of *Chiapa* are a by-word all about that Country, signifying great Dons (*dones*, gifts or abilities I should say) great birth, phantastick pride, joyned with simplicity, ignorance, misery and penury. These Gentlemen will say they descend from some Dukes house in *Spain*, and immediately from the first Conquerors; yet in carriage they are but clownes, in wit, abilities, parts and discourse as shallow brained, as a low brook, whose waters are scarce able to leap over a pibble stone; any small reason soon tries and tires their weak brain, which is easily at a stand when sense is propounded, and slides on speedily when non-sense carricth the stream. The chief families in this City, are named, *Cortez*, *Solis*, *Velasco*, *Toledo*, *Zerna*, and *Mendoza*. One of these, who was thought the chief in my time, called *Don Melchor de Velasco*, one day fell into discourse with me concerning *England*, and our *English* nation, and in the best, most serious and judicious part of his Don-like conference, asked me whether the Sun and Moon in *England* were of the same colour as in *Chiapa*, and whether *English* men went barefoot like the *Indians*, and sacrificed one another as formerly did the Heathens of that Countrey? and whether all *England* could afford such a dainty as a dish of Frixoles (which is the poorest *Indians* daily food there, being black and dry Turkey or French beanes boyled with a little biting Chille or *Indian* pepper with garlick, till the broath become as black as any Inke) And whether the women in *England* went as long with child, as did the *Spanish* women? And lastly, whether the *Spanish* nation were not a far gallanter nation then the *English*? When I perceived my Don ran farther and farther into his simple and foolish questions, I cut him off suddenly, telling him, Sir, It is long since I came out of *England*, if you give me leave to recollect my memory, I will answer some of these your hard questions the next time we meet (thinking hereby to try my Dons wit further, whether he could perceive I jeared him.) To which my simple Don replyed, I pray Sir do, and whensoever you come, you shall be welcome to a dish of Frixoles. With this I took my leave of him, and at our farewell he again desired

me to ſtudy well his queſtions, and to return him a ſpeedy anſwer, whereby I was more confirmed in my conceit of my *Don*, that he was either *tonto* or *bobo*, fool or ſimple. Yet thought I my beſt way to anſwer is to anſwer a fool according to his folly, and ſo reſolved within two or three dayes to return unto him ſome ſimple anſwer according to his ſimple and fooliſh queſtions. Therefore ſpeedily I ſingled out a good occaſion of meeting with him at his own houſe, who welcomed me with much *Spaniſh* gravity, and ſitting down before *Donna Angela*, his painted wife and Angel; began to anſwer, or more to jeer his *Donſhip*. I began with the Sun and Moon, telling him that they were planets, and had their ſpeciall influences upon ſeverall nations, as all planets have upon mans body. And ſo they did ſhew themſelves according to the inclination of the people of ſeverall Kingdomes. And therefore as the *Spaniards* were much inclined to *Venus* and to beauty, and not contenting themſelves with the naturall beauty of their fair Ladies, would yet have Art add to nature by the skill and uſe of the beſt painting colours; ſo theſe glorious planets of the Sun and Moon among the *Spaniards*, and eſpecially in *Chiapa*, ſhewed themſelves moſt comely, bright, glorious and beautifull, working the like inclination to beauty upon, and in all *Spaniards*. My inſtance was in the land of the Blackmores, where I told them that their bodies were black, and that among them the Sun appeared with a dark and ſad uſage. Here my *Don* cried out; An excellent example. I gave him yet a ſecond inſtance from the Eclipſe of the Sun; which being eclipſed, made all the Earth, mens faces and bodies ſeem of a darke, or yellow colour, to ſhew the proportion or ſympathy of ſublunary bodies to that high and overmaſtering planet. To this that good *Don* replyed, *ſennor no ſe puede decirmas*, ſir, nothing can be anſwered or ſaid more or better. *Vengamos agora a Ingalatierra*, Let us draw now to *England*. To which I anſwered him, that in *England* the Sun and Moon appeared half year of one colour, and half of another; for the women one half year it appeared as in *Spain* and *Chiapa*, beautifull and glorious, for that naturally without painting they yeelded to none in beauty. But the other half year it appeared as red as bloud, or ſcarlet; and the reaſon might eaſily be gueſſed at, for that no Nation is more warlike and high ſpirited then the *Engliſh*, whoſe very clothes were fiery, wearing more ſcarlet then any nation in the World; as he might perceive by their coming ſo much with their ſhips to the *Indian* Coaſts to fight with the *Spaniards*; and that as they delighted to go in red, and to be like the Sun, ſo naturally they were brought to thoſe Seas to ſingle out ſuch ſhips as from *America* carried the rich Commodity of *Chochinill*, whereof they make more uſe then *Spain* it ſelf to die their cloaths and Coats withall. Here my *Don* jogged his head, and replyed, Sir, I thought no nation had been ſo like the Sun as the *Spaniards*; for I have read that when our Anceſtors came to conquer theſe parts, the *Indians* called them, *hijos del Sol*, that is, ſons of the Sun, being comely and gallant, and more like the Sun then any other people. To this I anſwered him. Sir, no doubt but your are like the Sun here, and none more glittering and bright, your very hatbands ſhining with Pearls and Diamonds like the brightneſſe of the Sun; But as I ſaid before the Blackmores are like their Sun, ſo I ſay, the *Engliſh* is like their Sun, which is red, and ſo do and will affect to wear Searlet, as long as any *Cochinill* is to be found in the *India's*.

Now *Don Melchor* began to underſtand me, and told me, never man had ſatisfied him with better reaſons then my ſelf. He thanked me heartily, and told me, he thought no Gentleman in *Chiapa* could tell ſo well as himſelf now why the *Engliſh* ſhips came ſo much upon their Coaſts; and that my diſcourſe had ſatisfied him to the full. He deſired me to go on to his other queſtions. To his ſecond demanding whether the *Engliſh* went barefoot like the *Indians*, I told him I thought that the Count of *Gondomar*, (who had been many years Ambaſſadour from *Spain* in *England*) had ſatisfied all the *Spaniards* that doubt, who coming from *England* to *Madrid*, and being there asked by ſome Courtiers, whether *London* was as big as *Madrid*, and as well peopled; he made anſwer, that he thought there was ſcarce a hundred left in *London*. He proved it from the uſe and cuſtome of his own Countrymen of *Spain*; who when they are to make a journey, ſhew themſelves two or three daies before in colours; walking with boots and ſpurs, that their friends may take notice that they are departing out of the Town or City. So ſaid the Count of *Gondomar*, I think by this there are very few People in *London*; for when I came from thence I left them all almoſt in cloaths of colours, booted and ſpurred as ready to depart and take ſome

journey

journey. And truly my *Don* (quoth I) your own Count hath answered for me; yet I say, the *English* are so far from going bare-foot, that they go booted, and are all in a readinesse to move out of *England* for any noble and generous designe; but above all they are still ready for *America*, where they know is store and abundance of Hides to make them Bootes to cover the barenesse of their legs, that they may not be suspected to be like bare-footed *Indians*. Here *Don Melchor* replyed, I pray sir, when they come by Sea to these parts doe they come also booted and spurred? For I should think, when they fight, their spurs should hinder them. To this his doubt I answered first, as concerning spurres in the ships, with the example of one of his own Nation, and of the best Divines in *Spain*, living in my time in *Valladolid*, called *Maestro Nunno*, (Reader of Divinity in the Colledge of St. *Gregorie*, but in his carriage and experience in the World a simple noddy) who being invited by a Noble man to go with him in his Coach out of the City a mile or two to a garden of recreation, went hastily about the Colledge to borrow boots and spurs; and when he had put them on, being asked whither he went, and why he put on boots and spurs, answered that he was to go in a Coach out of the City, and that he thought the Coach and Mules would want spurs to go and come the sooner. Even so my *Don* (quoth I) the *English* men come booted and spurred in their ships, to make their ships sail on the swifter. And this is the reason why the *English* ships sail faster, and when they are in fight turn about quicker then a *Spanish* Galeon, because they are spurred and kicked within. O sir, I humbly thank you (said *Don Melchor*) for that by your discourse now I know the truth of what indeed I have often heard say, that the *English* ships are nimbler, and quicker at Sea then our heavy Galeons. Now as for fighting the *English* mens spurs (said I) are no hinderance to them, but rather a great advantage. For they fight with weapons, with their hands and with their feet, wherein they exceed the *Spaniards*; for when they have shot with their pieces, or cut down with their swords any enemy, or knocked him with their holbards, then with their feet and spurs, they fall upon him, and so soon rid him out of the way, that he may no more rise up against them. All you have told me (said the wise *Velazco*) stands with so much reason, that my judgment is convinced by you. As for eating and sacrificing one another like the *Indians* (I told him) that the *English* filled their bellies so well with fat Beef and Mutton, Fowles, Rabbits, Partridges and Pheasants, that they had no stomach at all to mans flesh. And that truly for frixoles dressed with garlick, that only dainty dish was wanting in *England*; and that for Garlick, three reasons moved the *English* not to be lavishing of that little they had; first, for fear they should want it for their horses drenches; secondly, for that they felt not themselves so much troubled with the wind, nor puffed up with windy and vain conceits as other nations did; but thirdly and chiefly they refrained from it among themselves, that they might not smell of it, and that by the sent and smell of it afar off at Sea they might when they come to the Coast of *America*, smell out a *Spanish* ship, and know it from a *Hollander*. Here my *Don Melchor* fell into admiration, assuring me, he had never heard more solid reasons from any man. Alas poor Criolian of *Chiapa* (thought I) if I had spoken sense, thy shallow brain had not been able to have leaped over it, but after non-sense thou art easily carried away. As for his last question, I told him that was above my reach, for that poor Fryers ought not to meddle with women, neither had my mother ever told me how long she went with me. But however if *Donna Angela* would tell me how long she went with her children, I would by the constellations of the Heavens search out against our next meeting, how long the *English* women went with their children. To this my *Don Melchor* answered that he would not trouble me to study what he thought was not belonging to my profession; but he knew that if I would study that or any other hard and difficult point, I could give him more and better satisfaction then any scholar in that City.

And thus (Reader) by this *Don Melchors* wit and ability would I have thee judge of the Gentlemen Criolians or natives of *Chiapa*; and yet as presumptuous they are and arrogant, as if the noblest blood in the Court of *Madrid* ran through their veines. It is a common thing amongst them to make a dinner only with a dish of Frixoles in black broath boiled with pepper and garlick, saying it is the most nourishing meat in all the *India's*; and after this so stately a dinner they will be sure to come out to the street-dore of their houses to see and to be seen, and there for half an hour will they stand

ſhaking off the crums of bread from their cloaths, bands (but eſpecially from their ruffes when they uſed them) and from their muſtachoes. And with their tooth-pickers they will ſtand picking their teeth, as if ſome ſmall Partridge bone ſtuck in them; nay if a friend paſſe by at that time, they will be ſure to find out ſome crum or other in their muſtacho (as if on purpoſe the crums of the table had been ſhaken upon their beards, that the loſſe of them might be a gaining of credit for great houſe-keeping) and they will be ſure to vent out ſome non-truth, as to ſay, *A Senor que linda perdiz he comido oy*, O Sir, what a dainty Partridge have I eat to day! where as they picke out nothing from their teeth but a black husk of a dry frixole or Turkey bean. Though great in bloud and in birth they ſay they are, yet in their imployments they are but rich Graſiers, for moſt of their wealth conſiſteth in farmes of Cattell and Mules. Some indeed have Towns of *Indians* ſubject unto them, whereof they are called Encomendero's, and receive yearly from every *Indian* a certain Pole tribute of fowles and money. They have moſt cowardly ſpirits for War, and though they will ſay, they would fain ſee *Spain*, yet they dare not venture their lives at Sea; they judge ſleeping in a whole skin the beſt maxime for their Criolian ſpirits. One hundred fighting Souldiers would eaſily lay low thoſe *Chiapa Dons*, and gain the whole City, which lieth ſo open to the fields, that the Muſes and Aſſes come in and graſe, the ſtreets being very commodious to entertain Aſſes from within, and from without. Yet in this City liveth commonly a Governour, or Alcalde Major, and a Biſhop. The Governours place is of no ſmall eſteem and intereſt, for that his power reacheth far, and he tradeth much in Cacao and Cochinil, and domineers over both *Spaniards* and *Indians* at his will and pleaſure. But ill gotten goods never thrive, as was ſeen in *Don Gabriel de Orellana* (Governour of this City and Countrey in my time) who having ſent the worth of eight thouſand crownes in Cochinil, Cacao, Sugar, and Hides by the river of *Tabaſco* towards the *Havana* loſt it all into the hands of the *Hollanders*, who doubtleſſe knew how to make better uſe of it, then would have done that tyrannizing Governour. The Biſhops place of that City is worth at leaſt eight thouſand duckats a year, which truly he had need of that comes ſo far from *Spain* to live in ſuch a City where are ſuch able *Dons*, as *Don Melchor de Velaſco*, and where Aſſes are ſo freely fed and bred. Moſt of this Biſhops revenues conſiſteth in great offerings which he yearly receiveth from the great *Indian* Towns, going out to them once a year to confirme their children, whoſe confirmation is ſuch a means to confirme and ſtrengthen the Biſhops revenues, that none muſt be confirmed by him who offer not a fair white Wax-candle, with a ribban and at leaſt four Rials. I have ſeen the richer ſort offer him a Candle of at leaſt ſix pound weight with two yards of twelve penny broad ribban, and the Candle ſtuck from the top to the bottome with ſingle Rials round about. Nay the poor *Indians* make it the chief maſter piece of their vanity to offer proudly in ſuch occaſions. *Don Benardino de Salazar* was the Biſhop of this City in my time, who deſired my company to ride with him his circuit but one moneth, about the Towns near to *Chiapa*, and in this time I was appointed by him to hold the baſin wherein the *Spaniards* and *Indians* (whileſt he confirmed their children) did caſt their offerings, which my ſelfe and another Chaplain did alwayes tell and caſt up by good account before we carried the mony up into his chamber, and I found that at our return at the moneths end he had received one thouſand and ſix hundred duckats of only offerings, beſides the fees due to him for viſiting the ſeverall companies, or ſodalities and confraternities belonging to the Saints or ſoules in their Purgatory (which are extraordinary rich there) whereof he and all other Biſhops in their diſtrict take account yearly. This Biſhop was (as all the reſt are there) ſomewhat covetous; but otherwiſe a man of a temperate life and converſation, very zealous to reforme whatſoever abuſes committed in the Church, which coſt him his life before I departed from *Chiapa* to *Guatemala*. The women of that City it ſeems pretend much weakneſſe and ſquemiſhneſſe of ſtomach, which they ſay is ſo great, that they are not able to continue in the Church while a Maſſe is briefly hudled over, much leſſe while a ſolemn high Maſſe (as they call it) is ſung, and a Sermon preached, unleſſe they drink a cup of hot Chocolatte, and eat a bit of ſweet-meats to ſtrengthen their ſtomachs. For this purpoſe it was much uſed by them to make their maids bring to them to Church in the middle of Maſſe or Sermon a cup of Chocolatte, which could not be done to all, or moſt of them without a great confuſion and interrupting both Maſſe and Sermon. The Biſhop perceiving this abuſe

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and having given faire warning for the omitting of it, but all without amendment, thought fit to fix in writing upon the Churches dores an excommunication against all such as should presume at the time of service to eat or drink within the Church. This excommunication was taken by all, but especially by the Gentlewomen much to heart, who protested if they might not eat or drink in the Church, they could not continue in it to hear what otherwise they were bound unto. The chief of them knowing what great friendship there was between the Bishop and the Prior, and my self, came to the Prior and me desiring us to use all means we could with the Bishop for the revoking that his excommunication so heavily laid upon them, and threatning their soules with damning judgement for the violation of it. The good Prior and my selfe laboured all we could, alleadging the custome of the Country, the weaknesse of the sex whom it most concerned, and also the weaknesse of their stomachs, the contempt that might from them ensue unto his person, and many inconveniences which might follow to the breeding of an uproar in the Church and in the City, whereof we had some probable conjecture from what already we had heard from some. But none of these reasons would move the Bishop; to which he answered that he preferred the honour of God, and of his house before his own life. The women seeing him so hard to be intreated, began to stomach him the more and to sleight him with scornfull and reproachfull words; others sleighted his excommunication, drinking in iniquity in the Church, as the fish doth water, which caused one day such an uproare in the Cathedrall, that many swords were drawn against the Priests and Prebends, who attempted to take away from the maids the cups of Chocolatte, which they brought unto their mistresses, who at last seeing that neither fair nor foul means would prevail with the Bishop, resolved to forsake the Cathedrall, where the Bishops own and his Prebends eyes must needs be watching over them; and so from that time most of the City betook themselves to the Cloister Churches, where by the Nuns and Fryers they were not troubled nor resisted, though fairly counselled to obey the command of the Bishop; whose name now they could not brook, and to whose Prebends they denied now all such relief and stipend for Masses which formerly they had used to bestow upon them, conferring them all upon the Fryers, who grew rich by the poor impoverished Cathedrall. This lasted not long, but the Bishop began to stomach the Fryers, and to set up another excommunication, binding all the City to resort unto their own Cathedrall Church; which the women would not obey, but kept their houses for a whole moneth; in which time the Bishop fell dangerously sick, and desired to retire himself to the Cloister of Dominicans, for the great confidence he had in the Prior that he would take care of him in his sickness. Physitians were sent for far and near, who all with a joynt opinion agreed that the Bishop was poisoned; and he himself doubted not of it at his death, praying unto God to forgive those that had been the cause of it, and to accept of that sacrifice of his life, which he was willing to offer for the zeal of Gods house and honour. He lay not above a week in the Cloister, and as soon as he was dead, all his body, his head and face did so swell, that the least touch upon any part of him caused the skin to break and cast out white matter, which had corrupted and overflown all his body. A Gentlewoman with whom I was well acquainted in that City, who was noted to be somewhat too familiar with one of the Bishops Pages, was commonly censured to have prescribed such a cup of Chocolatte to be ministred by the Page, which poisoned him who so rigorously had forbidden Chocolatte to be drunk in the Church. My self heard this Gentlewoman say of the deceased Bishop, that she thought few grieved for his death, and that the women had no reason to grieve for him, and that she judged, he being such an enemy to Chocolatte in the Church, that which he had drunk at home in his house had not agreed with his body. And it became afterwards a Proverbe in that Country, Beware of the Chocolatte of *Chiapa*; which made me so cautious, that I would not drink afterwards of it in any house, where I had not very great satisfaction of the whole Family. The women of this City are somewhat light in their carriage, and have learned from the Devill many enticing lessons and baits to draw poor souls to sinne and damnation; and if they cannot have their wils, they will surely work revenge either by Chocolatte or Conserves, or some fair present, which shall surely carry death along with it. The Gentlewoman that was suspected (nay was questioned for the death of the Bishop) had often used to send me boxes of Chocolatte or Conserves; which I willingly received from her, judging

ing it to be a kind of gratuity for the pains I took in teaching her ſon *Latine*. She was of a very merry and pleaſant diſpoſition, which I thought might conſiſt without ſin; unt ill one day ſhe ſent unto me a very fair plantin wrapped up in a handkerchief, buried in ſweet Jazmines and roſes; when I untied the handkerchief, I thought among the flowers I ſhould find ſome rich token, or ſome pieces of eight, but finding nothing but a plantin, I wondred; and looking further upon it, I found worked upon it with a knife the faſhion of a heart with two of blind Cupids arrows ſticking in it, diſcovering unto my heart the poiſoned heart and thoughts of the priſoner that ſent it I thought it a good warning to be wary and cautious of receiving more preſents or Chocolatte from ſuch hands, and ſo returned unto her again her plantin with this ſhort rime cut out with a knife upon the skin *fruta tam fria, amor no cria*, as much as to ſay, fruit ſo cold, takes no hold. This anſwer and reſolution of mine was ſoon ſpread over that little City, which made my Gentlewoman outragious, which preſently ſhe ſhewed by taking away her ſon from Schoole, and in many meetings theatned to play me a *Chiapaneca* trick. But I remembred the Biſhops Chocolatte and ſo was wary, and ſtaid not long after in that poiſoning and wicked City, which truly deſerves no better relation then what I have given of the ſimple *Dons*, and the Chocolatte-confectioning *Donna's*.

There is yet twelve leagues from this City of *Chiapa*, another *Chiapa* which deſerveth better commendations. This conſiſteth moſt of *Indians*, and is held to be one of the biggeſt *Indian* Towns in all *America*, containing at leaſt four thouſand families. This Town hath many priviledges from the King of *Spain*, and is governed chiefly by *Indians* (yet with ſubordination unto the *Spaniſh* government of the City of *Chiapa*) who do chooſe an *Indian* Governour with other inferiour officers to rule with him. This Governour may wear a rapier and dagger, and enjoyeth many other liberties which to the reſt of the *Indians* are denied. No Town hath ſo many *Dons* in it of *Indian* bloud as this. *Don Philip de Guzman* was Governour of it in my time, a very rich *Indian*, who kept up commonly in his ſtable a dozen of as good Horſes for publick ſhewes, and oſtentation as the beſt *Spaniard* in the Countrey. His courage was not inferiour to any *Spaniard*, and for defence of ſome priviledges of his Town ſued in the Chancery of *Guatemala* the proud and high minded Governour of the City of *Chiapa*, ſpending therein great ſums of money till he had overcome him, whereupon he cauſed a feaſt to be made in the Town, both by water and land, ſo ſtately, that truly in the Court of *Madrid* it might have been acted.

This Town lyeth upon a great river, whereunto belong many boats and Canoas, wherein thoſe *Indians* have been taught to act ſea-fights, with great dexterity, and to repreſent the Nymphes of *Parnaſſus*, *Neptune*, *Æolus*, and the reſt of the heatheniſh Gods and Goddeſſes, ſo that they are a wonder of their whole nation. They will arme with their boats a ſiege againſt the Town, fighting againſt it with ſuch courage till they make it yeeld, as if they had been trained up all their life to ſea-fights. So likewiſe within the Town they are as dexterous at baiting of buls, at *juego de Cannas*, at Horſe-races, at arming a Campe, at all manner of *Spaniſh* dances, inſtruments, and muſick, as the beſt *Spaniards*. They will erect Towers and Caſtles made of wood and painted cloth, and from them fight either with the boats or one againſt another, with ſquibs, darts, and many ſtrange fire-works, ſo manfully, that if in earneſt they could perform it as well as they do it in ſport and paſtime, the *Spaniards* and Fryers might ſoon repent to have taught them what they have. As for acting of playes, this is a common part of their ſolemne paſtimes; and they are ſo generous, that they think nothing too much to ſpend in banquets and ſweet-meats upon their Fryers, and neighbouring Towns, whenſoever they are minded to ſhew themſelves in a publick feaſt. The Town is very rich, and many *Indians* in it that trade about the Countrey as the *Spaniards* do. They have learned moſt trades befitting a Commonwealth, and practiſe and teach them within their Town. They want not any proviſion of fiſh or fleſh, having for the one that great river joyning unto their Town, and for the other many Eſtantia's (as they call them) or farmes abounding with Cattell. In this Town the Dominican Fryers bear all the ſway, who have a rich and ſtately Cloiſter with another Church or Chappel ſubordinate unto it. The heat here is ſo great, that both Fryers and *Indians* commonly wear a linnen towel about their necks to wipe up the conſtant ſweat from their faces, which maketh the Friers ſit longer at their dinner then els they would do, for that at every bit they

eat,

eat, and draught they drink, they are fain to make a ſtop to wipe their dropping browes. Yet the evenings are freſh and cool, which are much made of there, and ſpent in the many walkes and gardens which joyne cloſe unto the River ſide. Two or three leagues from the Town, there are two *Ingenio's* or Farmes of Sugar, the one belonging to the Cloiſter of the Dominicans of the City of *Chiapa*; the other unto the Cloiſter of this Town, which contain near two hundred Blackmores, beſides many *Indians*, who are imployed in that conſtant work of making Sugar for all the Country. Hereabouts are bred great ſtore of Mules, and excellent horſes for any ſervice. The Town of *Chiapa* of the *Indians*, and all the Towns about it want nothing but a more temperate climate and cooler aire, and Wheat, which there cannot be ſowne, yet for *Spaniards* and ſuch as cannot live without it, it is brought from *Chiapa* of the *Spaniards* and from about *Comitlan*; yet this is not generally acknowledged a want by reaſon of the great plenty of *Maiz* which all the Towns enjoy, and which is now more uſed both by *Spaniards* and dainty toothed Fryers then bread of Wheat. Yet your poor *Spaniards*, and ſome *Indians* who have got the trick of trading from them do gain not a little in bringing to theſe Towns biskets of wheaten bread, which though it be dry and hard, yet becauſe they are Novelties to the *Indians*; they get by changing them for other commodities, eſpecially of Cotton-wooll, which here is more abounding then in the Valley of *Copanabaſtlan*.

Upon this Country of *Chiapa* of the *Indians* bordereth the Province of *Zoques*, which is abſolutely the richeſt part of *Chiapa*. This reacheth on the one ſide to *Tabaſco*, and by the River named *Grijalva* ſendeth commonly the Commodities which are in it with ſafety unto St. *John de Ulhua*, or *Vera Cruz*. It trafiqueth alſo with the Country of *Jucatan* by the Haven called *Puerto Real*, which lyeth between *Grijalva* and *Jucatan*. Yet theſe two, the River of *Tabaſco*, *alias Grijalva*, and *Puerto Real*, though they be commodious to this Province of *Zoques*, yet they are cauſes of daily feares unto the *Spaniards*, who well know the weakneſſe of them, and that if a forain Nation ſhould manfully thruſt into that Country by any of theſe two wayes, they might ſo conquer all *Chiapa*, and from thence paſſe eaſily unto *Guatemala*. But the River of *Tabaſco* lying low, and being ſomewhat hot, and the Towns about it infeſted with many gnats, and the chiefeſt commodity there being but *Cacao*; have often diſcouraged both our *Engliſh* and *Hollanders*, who have come up ſome part of the River, and minding more the foreſaid reaſons, then what was forward to be had, have turned back, loſing a rich Country and ſlighting an eternall name, for few and frivolous preſent difficulties. In this Province of *Zoques*, the Towns are not very big, yet they be very rich; the chief Commodities are Silk and *Cochinill*; whereof the latter is held the beſt of *America*, and the ſtore of it ſo great that no one Province alone exceeds it. Few *Indians* there are who have not their Orchards planted with the trees whereon the worms bread which yeeld unto us that rich Commodity; not that the *Indians* themſelves eſteem otherwiſe of it, then as they ſee the *Spaniards* greedy after it, offering them mony for it, and forcing them to the preſervation of it in thoſe parts, which have proved moſt ſucceſſefull for this kind. There is a great ſtore of ſilke in this Country, in ſo much that the *Indians* make it their great Commodity to imploy their wives in working Towels with all colours of ſilk, which the *Spaniards* buy, and ſend into *Spain*. It is rare to ſee what works thoſe *Indian* women will make in ſilk, ſuch as might ſerve for Patterns and ſamplers to many School-miſtreſſes in *England*. The people of this Country are witty and ingenious, and fair of complexion; the Country towards *Tabaſco* is hot, but within in ſome places very cold. There is alſo plenty of *Maiz*, but no wheat; neither is there ſuch plenty of Cattell as about *Chiapa*, but Fowles and Turkies as many as in other parts. The Province called *Zeldales* lyeth behind this of the *Zoques*, from the North Sea within the continent, running up towards *Chiapa*, and reacheth in ſome parts near to the borders of *Comitlan* north-weſtward. South-eaſtward it joyns to ſuch *Indians* which as yet have not been conquered by the *Spaniards*, who make many invaſions upon the Chriſtian *Indians*, and burn their Towns, and carry away their Cattell. The chief and head Town in this Province is called *Ococingo*, which is a Frontier againſt thoſe Heathens. This Province is eſteemed rich for the *Spaniards*, who make much of *Cacao*, which ſerveth to make their drink of *Chocholatte*, and here is great ſtore of it. There is alſo another Commodity, great among the *Spaniards*, called *Achiotte*, wherewith they make their *Chocolatte* look of the colour of a brick. Here is alſo plenty of Hogs and Bacon, Fowles,

Turkies,

Turkies, Quailes, Cattell, Sheep, Maiz, Hony, and not far from *Ococingo*, in my time was ſetting upon an *Ingenio*, or Farm of Sugar, which was thought would prove as well as thoſe about *Chiapa* of the *Indians*. The Country in moſt parts is high and hilly; but *Ococingo* ſtands in a pleaſant Valley, injoying many Brooks and ſtreams of freſh water, and therefore hath been thought a fit place for Sugar. Here alſo in this valley the Fryers have attempted to ſow Wheat, which hath proved very good. Thus Reader, I have ſhewed you the Country of *Chiapa*, which as it is compaſſed about on the one ſide by *Soconuzco*, and from thence almoſt to *Guatemala*, by the Province of *Suchutepeques*, on the other ſide by *Tabaſco*, and on the other ſide by *Zeldales* with exceſſive plenty of *Cacao* and *Achiotte*, wch. are the chief drugs for the making of *Chocolatte*; I will yet before I depart from *Chiapa* to *Guatemala*, ſay ſomewhat of that drink ſo much uſed by the *Spaniards*, and in my judgement not to be ſleighted, but rather to be publiſhed and made known to all Nations, whoſe uſe might remedy the great abuſe of wines and ſtrong drinks which too much are eſteemed amongſt us here in *Europe*.

Chap. XVI.

Concerning two daily and common Drinkes, or Potions much uſed in the India's, *called Chocolatte, and Atolle.*

CHocolatte being this day uſed not only over all the *Weſt-India's*, but alſo in *Spain*, *Italy*, and *Flanders*, with approbation of many learned Doctors in Phyſick, among whom *Antonio Colmenero* of *Ledeſma*; (who lived once in the *India's*) hath compoſed a learned and curious Treatiſe concerning the nature and quality of this drink; I thought fit to inſert here alſo ſomewhat of it concerning my own experience for the ſpace of twelve years. This name Chocolatte is an *Indian* name, and is compounded from Atte, as ſome ſay, or as others, Atle, which in the *Mexican* language ſignifieth water, and from the ſound which the water (wherein is put the Chocolatte) makes, as Choco, Choco, Choco, when it is ſtirred in a cup by an inſtrument called a Molinet, or Molinillo, untill it bubble and riſe unto a froath. And as there it is a name compounded, ſo in *Engliſh* we may well call it a compounded or a confectioned drink wherein are found many and ſeverall Ingredients, according to the different diſpoſition of the Body of them that uſe it. But the chief Ingredient (without which it cannot be made) is called Cacao, a kind of Nut or kernell bigger then a great Almond, which growes upon a tree called the tree of Cacao, and ripens in a great huske, wherein ſometimes are found more, ſometimes leſſe Cacao's, ſometimes twenty, ſometimes thirty, nay forty and above. This Cacao, though as every ſimple it contains the quality of the four Elements, yet in the common opinion of moſt Phyſitians, it is held to be cold and dry, *à prædominio*; It is alſo in the ſubſtance that rules theſe two qualities, reſtringent and obſtructive, of the nature of the Element of the earth. And as it is thus a mixed, and not a ſimple Element, it hath parts correſpondent to the reſt of the Elements; and particularly it partakes of thoſe which correſpond with the Element of Aire, that is heat and moiſture, which are governed by unctious parts; there being drawn out of the Cacao much Butter, which in the *India's* I have ſeen drawn out of it by the Criolian women for to oint their faces. And let not this ſeem impoſſible to believe, that this grain or Nut of Cacao ſhould be ſaid to be firſt cold and dry, and then hot and moiſt; for though experience be a thouſand witneſſes, yet inſtances will further clear this truth; and firſt in the Rubarbe, which hath in it hot and ſoluble parts, and parts which are binding, cold and dry, which have a virtue to ſtrengthen, bind and ſtop the looſeneſſe of the belly. Secondly, we ſee this clearly in the ſteel, which having ſo much of the nature of the earth, as being heavy, thick, cold, and dry, ſhould be thought unproper for the curing of Oppilations, but rather to be apt to increaſe them; and yet it is given for a proper remedy againſt them. The authority of *Galen* may further clear this in the third book of the Qualities of ſimples, where he teacheth that almoſt all thoſe medicines, which to our ſenſe ſeem

to be ſimple, are notwithſtanding naturally compounded, containing in themſelves contrary qualities, that is to ſay, a quality to expell, and to retain, to incraſſate and to extenuate, to rarifie and to condenſe. And in the fifteenth Chapter following in the ſame book, he puts an example of the broth of a Cock, which moves the belly, and the fleſh hath the virtue to binde. Yet further that this differing virtue and quality is found in divers ſubſtances, or parts of ſimple medicaments, he ſhewes in the firſt book of his ſimple medicines in the ſeventeenth Chapter, bringing the example of milke, in which three ſubſtances are found and ſeparated, that is to ſay, the ſubſtance of cheeſe, which hath the virtue to ſtop the flux of the belly; and the ſubſtance of whay, which is purging, and butter, as it is expreſſed Chap. 15. Alſo we finde in wine which is in the Muſt, three ſubſtances, that is to ſay, earth, which is the chief; and a thinner ſubſtance, which is the flower, and may be called the ſcum, or froath; and a third ſubſtance which we properly call wine; and every one of theſe ſubſtances contains in it ſelf divers qualities and virtues, in the colour, in the ſmell, and in other accidents.

And this is very comformable to reaſon, if we conſider that every aliment, be it never ſo ſimple, begets and produceth in the liver four humours, not only differing in temper, but alſo in ſubſtance; and begets more or leſſe of that humour, according as the aliment hath more or fewer parts correſponding to the ſubſtance of that humour, which is moſt ingendred. From which examples we may gather that when the Cacao is grinded and ſtirred, the divers parts which nature hath given it, do artificially and intimately mixe themſelves one with another; and ſo the unctuous, warme, and moiſt parts, mingled with the earthy repreſſeth, and leaveth them not ſo binding, as they were before; but rather with a mediocrity, more inclining to the warme, and moiſt temper of the aire, then to the cold and dry of the earth; as it doth appear, when it is made fit to drink, that ſcarce two turns are given with the Molinet, when there ariſeth a fatty ſcum, by which is ſeen, how much it partaketh of the oyly part. So that from all that hath been ſaid, the error of thoſe is well diſcovered, who ſpeaking of this drink of Chocolatte, ſay, that it cauſeth oppilations, becauſe Cacao is aſtringent; as if that aſtriction were not corrected and modified by the intimate mixing of one part with another, by means of the grinding, as is ſaid before. Beſides it having ſo many ingredients, which are naturally hot, it muſt of neceſſity have this effect, that is to ſay, to open, attenuate, and not to binde. And leaving aſide more reaſons, this truth is evidently ſeen in the Cacao it ſelf; which if it be not ſtirred, grinded and compounded to make the Chocolatte; but be eaten as it is in the fruit (as many Criolian and *Indian* women eat it) it doth notably obſtruct and cauſe ſtoppings, and make them look of a broken, pale and earthy colour, as do thoſe that eat earthen ware, as pots, or pieces of lime-wals (which is much uſed amongſt the *Spaniſh* women thinking that pale and earthy colour, though with obſtructions and ſtoppings, well becomes them) and for this certainly in the Cacao thus eaten there is no other reaſon, but that the divers ſubſtances which it contains, are not perfectly mingled by the maſtication only, but require the artificiall mixture, which we have ſpoken of before.

The tree which doth bear this fruit, is ſo delicate, and the earth where it groweth ſo extream hot, that to keep the tree from being conſumed by the Sun, they firſt plant other trees, which they call, *las Madres del Cacao*; mothers of the Cacao; and when theſe are grown up to a good height fit to ſhade the Cacao trees; then they plant the Cacaotals, or the trees of Cacao; that when they firſt ſhew themſelves above the ground, thoſe trees, which are already grown may ſhelter them; and as mothers nouriſh, defend, and ſhadow them from the Sun; and the fruit doth not grow naked, but many of them (as I have ſaid before) are in one great huske or cod, and therein beſides every grain is cloſed up in a white juicy skin, which the women alſo love to ſuck off from the Cacao, finding it cool, and in the mouth diſſolving into water. There are two ſorts of Cacao; the one is common, which is of a darke colour inclining towards red, being round and peeked at the ends; the other is broader, and bigger, and flatter, and not ſo round, which they call, Patlaxte, and this is white, and more drying, and is ſold a great deal cheaper then the former. And this eſpecially, more then the other, cauſeth watchfulneſſe, and drives away ſleep, and therefore is not ſo uſefull as the ordinary, and is chiefly ſpent by the ordinary and meaner ſort of people. As for the reſt of the ingredients which make this Chocolatticall confection, there is notable variety; for ſome put into it black Pepper, which is not well approved of by the Phyſitians,

ſitians, beeauſe it is ſo hot and dry, but only for one who hath a very cold liver; but commonly in ſtead of this Pepper, they put into it long red Pepper, called Chile, which though it be hot in the mouth, yet is cool and moiſt in the operation. It is further compounded with white Sugar, Cinnamon, Clove, Anniſeed, Almonds, Haſell-nuts, *Orejuela*, *Bainilla*, *Sapoyall*, Orenge flower water, ſome Muske, and as much of Achiotte, as will make it look of the colour of a red brick. But how much of each of theſe may be applyed to ſuch a quantity of Cacao, the ſeverall diſpoſitions of mens bodies muſt be their rule. The ordinary receipt of *Antonio Colmenero* was this; To every hundred Cacao's, two cods of Chile, called long red Pepper, one handfull of Anniſeed and *Orejuela's*, and two of the flowers called *Mechaſuchil*, or *Bainilla*, or inſtead of this ſix roſes of *Alexandria*, beat to powder, two drams of Cinnamon, of Almonds and Haſel-nuts, of each one dozen; of white Sugar half a pound, of Achiotte, enough to give it the colour. This Author thought neither Clove, nor Muſk, nor any ſweet water fit, but in the *India's* they are much uſed. Others uſe to put in Maiz, or *Paniſo*, which is very windy, but ſuch do it only for their profit, by increaſing the quantity of the Cocolatte; becauſe every fanega or meaſure of Maiz containing about a buſhel and a half, is ſold for eight ſhillings, and they that ſell Chocolatte, ſell it for four ſhillings a pound, which is the ordinary price. The Cinnamon is held one of the beſt ingredients, and denied by none, for that it is hot and dry in the third degree, it provokes urine, and helpes the kidneys and reines of thoſe who are troubled with cold diſeaſes, and it is good for the eyes, and in effect it is cordiall, as appeareth by the Author of theſe verſes,

Commoda & urinæ Cinamonum & renibus affert.
Lumina clarificat, dira venena fugat.

The *Achiotte* hath a piercing, attenuating quality, as appeareth by the common practice of the Phyſitians of the *India's*, experienced daily in the effects of it, who do give it to their Patients to cut and attenuate the groſſe humors, which do cauſe ſhortneſſe of breath, and ſtopping of urine: and ſo it is uſed for any kind of oppilations, and is given for the ſtoppings which are in the breaſt, or in the region of the belly, or any other part of the body. This *Achiotte* alſo groweth upon a tree in round huskes, which are full of red graines, from whence the *Achiotte* is taken, and firſt made into a paſte, and then being dried up, is faſhioned either into round bals or cakes, or into the forme of little brickes, and ſo is ſold. As concerning the long red Pepper there are four ſorts of it; one is colled *Chilchotes*; the other is very little, which they call *Chilterpin*, and theſe two kinds are very quick and biting. The other two are called, *Tonalchiles*, and theſe are but moderately hot, for they are eaten with bread by the *Indians*, as they eat other fruits. But that which is uſually put into Chocolatte, is calld *Chilpaclagua*, which hath a broad huske, and is not ſo biting as the firſt, nor ſo gentle as the laſt. The *Mechaſuchil*, or *Bainilla* hath a purgative quality. All theſe ingredients are uſually put into the Chocolatte, and by ſome more, according to their fancies. But the meaner ſort of people, as *Blackmores* and *Indians*, commonly put nothing into it, but *Cacao*, *Achiotte*, *Maiz*, and a few *Chiles* with a little Anniſeed. And though the *Cacao* is mingled with all theſe ingredients, which are hot; yet there is to be a greater quantity of *Cacao*, then of all the reſt of the ingredients, which ſerve to temper the coldneſſe of the *Cacao*; from whence it followeth that this Chocolatticall confection is not ſo cold as the *Cacao*, nor ſo hot as the reſt of the ingredients, but there reſults from the action and reaction of theſe ingredients, a moderate temper, which may be good, both for the cold and hot ſtomachs, being taken moderately.

Now for the making or compounding of this drink, I ſhall ſet down here the method. The Cacao, and the other ingredients muſt be beaten in a morter of ſtone, or (as the *Indians* uſe) ground upon a broad ſtone, which they call *Metate*, and is only made for that uſe. But firſt the ingredients are all to be dried, except the *Achiotte*, with care that they may be beaten to powder, keeping them ſtill in ſtirring, that they be not burnt, or become black; for if they be overdried, they will be bitter, and loſe their virtue. The Cinnamon and the long red pepper are to be firſt beaten, with the Anniſeed, and then the Cacao, which muſt be beaten by little and little, till it be all powdred; and in the beating it muſt be turned round, that it may mixe the better. Every one of theſe ingredients muſt be beaten by it ſelf, and then all be put into the veſſell, where the Cacao is, which you muſt ſtir together with a ſpoon, and then take out that

paſte,

paſte, and put it into the morter, under which there muſt be a little fire, after the confection is made, but if more fire be put under then will only warm it, then the unctuous part will dry away. The *Achiotte* alſo muſt be put in in the beating, that it may the better take the colour. All the ingredients muſt be ſearced, ſave only the Cacao, and if from the Cacao the dry ſhell be taken, it will be the better. When it is well beaten, and incorporated (which will be known by the ſhortneſſe of it) then with a ſpoon (ſo in the *India's* is uſed) is taken up ſome of the paſte, which will be almoſt liquid, and made into tablets, or elſe without a ſpoon put into baxes, and when it is cold it will be hard. Thoſe that make it into tablets, put a ſpoonfull of the paſte upon a piece of paper (the *Indians* put it upon the leaf of a plantin tree) where, being put into the ſhade (for in the ſun it melts and diſſolves) it growes hard; and then bowing the paper or leaf, the tablet fals off, by reaſon of the fatneſſe of the paſte. But if it be put into any thing of earth, or wood, it ſtickes faſt, and will not come off, but with ſcraping or breaking. The manner of drinking it, is divers; the one (being the way moſt uſed in *Mexico*) is to take it hot with Atolle, diſſolving a tablet in hot water, and then ſtirring and beating it in the cup, where it is to be drunk, with a Molinet, and when it is well ſtirred to a ſcumme or froath, then to fill the cup with hot Atolle, and ſo drink it ſup by ſup. Another way is, that the Chocolatte, being diſſolved with cold water and ſtirred with the Molinet, and the ſcumme taken off and put into another veſſell; the remainder be ſet upon the fire, with as much ſugar as will ſweeten it, and when it is warme, then to powre it upon the ſcum which was taken off before, and ſo to drink it. But the moſt ordinary way is, to warme the water very hot, and then to powre out half the cup full that you mean to drink; and to put into it a tablet or two, or as much as will thicken reaſonably the water, and then grinde it well with the Molinet, and when it is well ground and riſen to a ſcum, to fill the cup with hot water, and ſo drink it by ſups (having ſweetned it with Sugar) and to eat it with a little Conſerve, or maple bred, ſteeped into the Chocolatte. Beſides theſe ways there is another way (which is much uſed in the Iſland of *Santo Domingo*) which is to put the Chocolatte into a pipkin, with a little water, and to let it boyle well till it be diſſolved, and then to put in ſufficient water and ſugar according to the quantity of the Chocolatte, and then to boyle it again, untill there comes an oily ſcumme upon it, and then to drink it. There is another way yet to drink Chocolatte, which is cold, which the *Indians* uſe at feaſts, to refreſh themſelves, and it is made after this manner. The Chocolatte (which is made with none or very few ingredients) being diſſolved in cold water with the Molinet, they take off the ſcumme, or craſſy part, which riſeth in great quantity, eſpecially when the Cacao is older and more putrefied. The ſcumme they lay aſide in a little diſh by it ſelf, and then put Sugar into that part from whence was taken the ſcumme, and then powre it from on high into the ſcumme, and ſo drink it cold. And this drink is ſo cold, that it agreeth not with all mens ſtomachs; for by experience it hath been found, that it doth hurt, by cauſing pains in the ſtomach, eſpecially to women. The third way of taking it is the moſt uſed, and thus certainly it doth no hurt, neither know I why it may not be uſed as well in *England* as in other parts both hot and cold; for where it is ſo much uſed, the moſt if not all, as well in the *India's*, as in *Spain*, *Italy*, *Flanders* (which is a cold Countrey) find that it agreeth well with them. True it is, it is uſed more in the *India's*, then in the *Europæan* parts, becauſe there the ſtomachs are more apt to faint then here, and a cup of Chocolatte well confectioned comforts and ſtrengthens the ſtomach. For my ſelf I muſt ſay, I uſed it twelve years conſtantly, drinking one cup in the morning, another yet before dinner between nine or ten of the clock; another within an hour or two after dinner, and another between four and five in the afternoon; and when I was purpoſed to ſit up late to ſtudy, I would take another cup about ſeven or eight at night, which would keep me waking till about midnight. And if by chance I did neglect any of theſe accuſtomed houres, I preſently found my ſtomach fainty. And with this cuſtome I lived twelve years in thoſe parts healthy, without any obſtructions, or oppilations, not knowing what either ague, or feaver was. Yet will I not dare to regulate by mine own the bodies of others, nor take upon me the skill of a Phyſitian, to appoint and define at what time and by what perſons this drink may be uſed. Only I ſay, I have known ſome that have been the worſe for it, either for drinking it with too much ſugar, which hath relaxed their ſtomachs, or for drinking it too often. For certainly if it

be drunk beyond measure, not only this Chocolatte but all other drinks, or meats, though of themselves they are good and wholesome, they may be hurtfull. And if some have found it oppilative, it hath come by the too too much use of it; as when one drinks over much wine, in stead of comforting and warming himself, he breeds and nourisheth cold diseases, because nature cannot overcome it, nor turn so great a quantity into good nourishment. So he that drinks much Chocolatte, which hath fat parts, cannot make distribution of so great a quantity to all the parts; and that part which remains in the slender veines of the liver must needs cause oppilations and obstructions. But lastly to conclude with this *Indian* drink, I will add what I have heard Physitians of the *India's* say of it, and have seen it by experience in others (though never I could find it in my self) that those that use this Chocolatte much, grow fat and corpulent by it: which indeed may seem hard to believe; for considering that all the ingredients, except the Cacao, do rather extenuate, then make fat, because they are hot and dry in the third degree. And we have already said, that the qualities which do predominate in Cacao, are cold and dry, which are very unfit to adde any substance to the body. Nevertheless it may be answered that the many unctuous parts, which have been proved to be in the Cacao, are those which pinguefie and make fat; and the hotter ingredients of this composition serve for a guide, or vehicle to passe to the liver, and the other parts, untill they come to the fleshy parts; and there finding a like substance which is hot and moist, as is the unctuous part, converting it self into the same substance, it doth augment and pinguefie. But how then might this Cacao with the other *Indian* ingredients be had in *England?* even by trading in *Spain* for it, as we do for other commodities; or not sleighting it so much as we and the *Hollanders* have often done upon the *Indians* seas; of whom I have heard the *Spaniards* say that when we have taken a good prize, a ship laden with Cacao, in anger and wrath we have hurled over board this good commodity, not regarding the worth and goodnesse of it, but calling it in bad *Spanish*, *Cagaruta de Carnero*, or sheeps dung in good *English*. It is one of the necessariest commodities in the *India's*, and nothing enricheth *Chiapa* in particular more then it, whither are brought from *Mexico* and other parts, the rich bags of Patacons only for this *Cagaruta de Carnero*, which we call sheeps dung. The other drink which is much used in the *India's* is called Atolle, of which I will say but a little, because I know it cannot be used here. This was the drink of the ancient *Indians*, and is a thick pap made of the flower of Maiz, taking off the huskes from it, which is windy and melancholy. This is commonly carried by the *Indian* women to the Markets hot in pots, and there is sold in cups. The Criolian students, as we go to a Tavern to drink a cup of wine, so they go in company to the publick Markets, and as publickly buy and drink by measure of this Atolle; which sometimes is seasoned with a little Chile, or long Pepper, and then it pleaseth them best. But the Nuns and Gentlewomen have got a trick of confectioning it with Cinnamon, Sweet-waters, Amber, or Muske, and store of Sugar, and thus it is held to be a most strong and nourishing drink, which the Physitians do prescribe unto a weak body, as we do here our Almond-milke. But of what *England* never knew nor tasted, I will say no more, but hasten my pen to *Guatemala*, which hath been my second *patria*.

CHAP.

Chap. XVII.

Shewing my journey from the City of Chiapa, *unto* Guatemala, *and the chief places in the way.*

THE time now being come that I was to leave the little City of *Chiapa*, I took some occasion before-hand to take my leave of my best friends, whose children I had taught, and at my departure I must confesse I found them kind and bountifull, except it were *Donna Magdalena de Morales*, from whom I did not expect, neither did I desire any farewell, or Adieu token. But among all, the Governours wife was most liberall unto me, sending me many boxes of Aromaticall Chocolatte, and one extraordinary great box with four severall divisions of different Conserves gilt over, besides many Maple breads, and Biskets made with Egs and Sugar, a present it was which might have been sent to a greater man then to a poor worthlesse Mendicant Fryer, and with this in a handkerchief a dozen pieces of eight. *Don Melchor del Valazco* yet exceeded her, in words and complements I mean, but in deeds, he and all the crew of the Criolians must think to come short of them, who are born in *Spain*. The first Town I went unto, was *Theopixca*, six leagues from *Chiapa*, a fair and great Town of *Indians*, who are held to be next unto the *Indians* of the other *Chiapa* in sitting and riding a horse. In this Town is nothing so considerable as the Church, which is great and strong, and the musick belonging unto it sweet and harmonious. The Vicar or Curate of this place was one Fryer *Peter Martir* a Criolian, whom I knew could not endure the Prior nor me, yet he would dissemble a love complemental exceeding well, and in outward shews raise it up to *gradus ut Octo*. He knowing my prevalency with the Prior, durst not but give me very good entertainment, which continued two dayes, untill I was weary of his complements.

The third day I took my leave of him, who would not yet leave me, but would conduct me to *Comitlan*, whither I was invited by the Prior of that Cloister, named Fryer *Thomas Rocolano*, a *French* man, who being a stranger to the *Spaniards* (for besides him and my self there was no other stranger in that County) desired acquaintance with me, which he began to settle by meeting me at the half way with many *Indians* on horse back, having provided an harbour where we might more conveniently confer and rest while our Chocolatte and other refreshments were provided. But the Criolian *Peter Martir* was not a little envious, (as I was afterwards informed in the Cloister) to see me so much made of and esteemed in the Countrey, yet his fair words and complements far exceeded the sincerity and down-rightnesse of my *French* friend. At *Comitlan* I stayed a whole week, riding about with the Prior unto the *Indian* Towns, and down the hill to the valley of *Copanabastla*, where I injoyed much pastime and recreation among the Fryers and *Indians*, and was feasted after the manner of that Countrey, which knoweth more of an Epicurian diet then doth *England*, or any part of *Europe*; nay I am perswaded (and I have heard *Spaniards* confesse it) that *Spain* hath taken from the *India's* since the conquest many lessons for the dressing of severall dishes and compleating a feast or banquet. After the week was ended my *French* friend the Prior conducted me to *Izquintenango*, to see me well furnished up the Mountains of *Cuchumatlanes*. This Town (as I have formerly observed) standeth almost at the end of the Valley of *Copanabastla*, and within two leagues of the *Cuchumatlanes*. It is one of the finest *Indian* Towns of all the Province of *Chiapa*, and very rich, by reason of the much Cotton wooll in it, and especially by reason of its situation, for standing in the Roade way to *Guatemala*, all the Merchants of the Countrey that trade with their mules that way, passe through this Town, and there buy and sell, enriching it with mony and far brought Commodities. It is most plentifully stored with fruits, especially with what they call Pina's or Pine fruit. It standeth close by the great River, which runneth to *Chiapa* of the *Indians*, and hath its spring not far off from the *Cuchamatlanes*, and yet at this Town is very broad and deep. No man nor beast travelling to *Guatemala* can go into it, or from *Guatemala* can go out of it, but by ferrying over. And the Rode being much used and beaten by travellers,

and by such as they call Requas of mules (every Requa consisting of fifty or threescore mules) this Ferry is day and night imployed, and yeelds much treasure to the Town at the years end. The *Indians* of the Town besides the ferry boat, have made many other little boats, or Canoa's to go up and down the River. Hither when the Prior of *Comitlan* had brought me, we were waited for by the Vicar or Fryer of that Town with the chief and principall *Indians*, and most of the Canoa's. As we ferryed over, the little Canoa's went before us with the Quiristers of the Church singing before us, and with others sounding their Waits and Trumpets. The Fryer that lived in this Town was called Fryer *Geronymo de Guevara*, little in stature, but great in state, pride and vanity, as he shewed himself in what he had provided for us both of fish and flesh. A brave professour or vower of Mendicancy and poverty he was, who in twelve years that he had lived in that Town, what by mumming of Masses for the dead and living, what by shearing and fleecing the poor *Indians*, what by trading and traffiquing with the Merchants that used that Rode, had got six thousand Duckats, which he had sent to *Spain* to the Court of *Madrid*, to trade with them Simoniacally for the Bishoprick of *Chiapa*, which if he obtained not, (yet when I came out of that Countrey the report went that he had obtained it) he would and was well able with a second supply to obtain a better. After two dayes feasting with him, he and the Prior of *Comitlan* both joyned their power and authority to see me well manned with *Indians*, to the first Towne of the *Cucumatlanes*. A mule was prepared to carry my bedding, (which we commonly carryed with us in chests of leather called Petaca's) another *Indian* to carry my Petaquilla wherein was my Chocolatte and all implements to make it; and three more *Indians* to ride before and behinde to guide me; but to all these nothing was to be paid, (lest a custome of paying should be brought in, for so they doctrined me as a novice in that Countrey) except it were to give them a cup of Chocolatte if I drank in the way, or when I came to my journeys end. Here I took my leave of my good *French* friend, (who yet continued friendship with me by frequent letters to *Guatemala*) and of my low but high minded *Guevara*, who bad me expect no friendly entertainment, untill I were well passed over the *Cuchumatlanes* and arrived at *Sacapula*, which was four days journey from thence. Yet he told me I might demand what service I list from the *Indians*, and call for what I had a mind to eat without paying any money, so that I did write down my expences in the common Town Book.

Thus I went away from my friends somewhat heavy, having no other company but unknown *Indians*, leaving a pleasant and delightsome valley behind me, and seeing nothing before me but high and steepy hils and mountaines, and considering that in four or five dayes I should see no more gallant Dominicans and of mine own profession. Now I wished I had the company of my *Melendez* and other friends, who were a comfort one to another upon the hils and rocks of *Maquilapa*. Yet at last I concluded, up *Englisb* heart and courage, *quondam hæc meminisse juvabit*. Though the Mountains seemed high a far off, yet as I travelled on, I found the way lie between them very easie and passable, and met now and then Requas of mules, which were no little comfort unto me to consider, if they being heavily laden could go through those Mountains, my mule that had in me but a light burden would easily overcome any danger; it comforted me also to consider that there were Towns (though but little ones) where I might rest every night. The further I went, the better and more open I found the Rode; Only the rain and dirt troubled me, which I could not avoid, it being the end of *September*, or as there they reckon, the end of winter. The first Town I came to amongst those Mountains was called St. *Martin*, a little place of some twenty houses; I went to the house that belonged to the Franciscan Fryers (who seldome in the year came to that poverty of house and house room) where I lighted and caused the *Indians* to be called who were appointed to give attendance to travellers and passengers. I found them very tractable and dutifull, bidding me welcome, bringing me hot water for my Chocolatte, which I drunk off heartily, and gave unto my *Indians* of *Izquintenango*, who refreshed themselves and their mules well for nothing, this being a custome among those Towns in the Rode to welcome one another whensoever they come with travellers. I might have had for my supper any thing that place would afford, but I made choice of a pullet, which I thought would be cheapest for the poor *Indians*. I was glad I had brought with me a good

big

big Frasco, as they call it, or bottle of wine, for I began already to find the *Cuchumatlanes* cooler then the valley of *Copanabastla*. My bed was made in a little thatched Cobe, and *Indian* boyes appointed to sleep in the next room to me, and to be at hand if in the night I should want any thing. Thus having appointed what attendance I had need of in the morning to the next Town, discharging the *Indians* that had brought me from *Izquintenango*, I went unto my rest, which I took as quietly as if I had been in the company of my best friends. The next day being accompanied by two *Indians*, having sent my carriage by another, I took my journey to the next Town, which is called *Cuchumatlan grande*, because it standeth on the highest part of those Mountains, and in the way the *Indians* shewed me the head spring or fountain of the great River of *Chiapa* of the *Indians*, which is the only remarkable thing in that Rode. *Cuchumatlan grande* is a Town a little bigger then St. *Martin*, and of *Indians* very curteous, who are used and beaten to daily travellers, and so make very much of them. Here I was entertained as the night before; and found the poor *Indians* willing to give me whatsoever I demanded for my better and safer guiding and conducting the next day, and that night for my supper what I pleased to call for, without any pay, but only writing down my name and expences with the day and month in their common book of accounts. This are those poor wretches brought to by the Fryers and commanding Justices, though of themselves they have no more then a Milpa of Maiz as they term it, or a little *Indian* Wheat Plantation, with as much Chile as will suffice them for the year, and what the Merchants and Travellers give them voluntarily, which is little enough. From this Town I would not follow the Rode to the next, which was a long journy of seven or eight leagues without baiting by the way; and also because I had been enformed at *Chiapa* and at *Copanabastla* of a strange picture of our Lady, which was amongst these Mountains in a little Town of *Indians* called *Chiantla*, which in this dayes journey being not above a league out of my way, I was resolved to see. The ways were bad, lying out of the Rode, yet by noon I got to *Chiantla*, which is a Town belonging unto Mercenarian Fryers, who doubtlesse would not be able to subsist in so poor a place, had they not invented that loadstone of their picture of *Mary* and cried it up for miraculous, to draw people far and near, and all travellers from the Rode to pray unto it, and to leave their gifts and almes unto them for their prayers and Masses. Such an income of treasure and riches hath been from deluded and ignorant souls to this beggerly Town, that the Fryers have had wherewith to build a Cloister able to maintain four or five of them. The Church is richly furnished, but especially the high Altar where the picture standeth in a Tabernacle with half a dozen curtains of Silk, Sattin, cloth of gold, with borders of golden lace before it, wearing a rich Crown of gold, thickly beset with Diamonds and other pretious stones. There hang before it at least a dozen rich lampes of silver; and in the vestry of the Church are many gownes, Candlesticks of silver, Censers to burn Frankincense before it, besides rich Copes, Vestments, Ornaments for the Altar, and hangings for all the Church.

To conclude, here is a treasure hid in the Mountains; Oh that it could be found out to do the Lord service! I was welcomed to this place by those Fryers, who were strangers unto me; my head was filled that day by them with relations of strange and many miracles or lies, which they told me of that picture; but the heavinesse of my head did me good in something, for it made me more drowsie at night and apter to take good rest. The next day I got into the Rode again, and went to the last Town of these *Cuchumatlanes* called *Chautlan*, where I stayed all that day and night, and sent before a letter to the Prior of *Sacapula* of my going thither the next day. In *Chautlan* I was very kindly used by the *Indians*, and liked the Town the better for the excellent grapes which there I found, not planted like vineyards, but growing up in harbours, which shew that if that land were planted, it would certainly yeeld as good grapes for wine, as any are in *Spain*. They are carried from that place to *Guatemala*, which stands from it near forty leagues, and are sold about the streets for rarities and great dainties; and well may they, for from *Mexico* to *Guatemala* there are none like them. The next morning I made hast to be gone, that I might come sooner to *Sacapula*, where I was to finde those of mine own profession, with whom I knew I might stay and rest a whole week if I pleased. I had not rid above three leagues, when I began to discover at a low and deep bottome, a pleasant and goodly valley, laced with a River, whose

waters receiving the glorious brightneſſe of *Phœbus* beames reverberated up to the top of the Mountain, a delightſome proſpect to the beholders; the more I haſted to that ſeeming Paradiſe, the more did the twinkling and wanton ſtreame invite me down the hill; which I had no ſooner deſcended, but I found in an habour by the water ſide the Prior of *Sacapula* himſelf with a good train of *Indians* waiting for me with a cup of Chocolatte. At the firſt ſight I was a little daunted to behold the Prior, who looked moſt fearfully with a bladder from his throat ſwelled almoſt round his neck, which hung over his ſhoulders and breaſt, and ſtayed up his chin, and lifted up his head ſo, that he could ſcarce look any whither but up to heaven. In our diſcourſe he told me that diſeaſe had been upon him at leaſt ten years, and that the water of that River had cauſed it in him, and in many others of that Town. This made me now as much out of love with the River, as above the hill I had liked the goodly ſight of it, and therefore reſolved not to ſtay ſo long in that place as I had thought, leſt the waters ſhould marke me for all my life, as they had done this Prior; whoſe name was Fryer *John de la Cruz*, a Biſcaine born, and (like ſome of that Nation) a little troubled with the ſimples, but a good hearted man, humble and well beloved over all the Country both by *Spaniards* and *Indians*. When I came to the Town I diſcovered many men and women with bladders in their throats like the poor Prior, which made me almoſt unwilling to drink there any Chocolatte made with that water, or eat any thing dreſſed with it; untill the Prior did much encourage me and told me that it did not hurt all but only ſome, and thoſe who did drink it cold; wherewith I reſolved to ſtay there four or five dayes, becauſe of the old Priors importunity, who would fain have had me continue to live with him, promiſing to teach me the *Indian* language in a very ſhort time. But higher matters calling me to *Guatemala*, I excuſed my ſelf, and continued there five dayes with much recreation. The Town though it be not in the generall very rich, yet there are ſome *Indian* Merchants who trade about the Country and eſpecially to *Suchutepeques* where is the chief ſtore of Cacao, and thereby ſome of this Town of *Sacapula*, have inriched themſelves; the reſt of the people trade in pots and pans, which they make of an earth there fit for that purpoſe. But the principall Merchandize of this place is ſalt, which they gather in the morning from the ground that lyeth near the River. The aire is hot, by reaſon the Town ſtandeth low, and compaſſed with high hils on every ſide. Beſides many good fruits which are here, there are Dates as good as thoſe that come from *Barbary*, and many trees of them in the Garden belonging to the Cloiſter. After I had here wearied out the wearineſſe, which I brought in my bones from the *Cuchumatlanes*, I departed taking my way to *Guatemala*, and from *Sacapula* I went to a Town called St. *Andres*, or St. *Andrews*, which ſtandeth ſix or ſeven leagues from *Sacapula*, a great Town, but nothing remarkable in it, ſave only Cotton wooll and Turkies, and about it ſome rich Eſtancia's or Farmes of Cattell, which are commodiouſly ſeated here, it being a plain Champaign Country. Yet at further end of this plain there is a Mountain which diſcourageth with the ſight all ſuch as travell to *Guatemala*; from St. *Andres* I prepared my ſelf for the next dayes journey, which was of nine long leagues, to a very great Town called by two names, by ſome *Sacualpa*, by others *Sta. Maria Zojabah*, to the which I could not go without paſſing over that Mountain. I ſent word of going to *Zojabah* the day before (as is the cuſtome there) that mules and horſes might meet me upon the Mountain; and the night before I went to a Rancho (which is a lodge built for travellers to reſt when the journey is long) which ſtood within a league of the Mountain by a River, where with the waters murmur, and refreſhing gales I took good reſt. In the morning having refreſhed my ſelf, and my *Indians* with Chocolatte I ſet out to incounter with that proud Mountain; and when I came unto it I found it not ſo hard to overcome, as I had conceited, the way lying with windings and turnings; But the higher I mounted the more my eyes were troubled with looking to the River below, whoſe rockes were enough to aſtoniſh and make a ſtout heart tremble. About the middle of the Mountain the *Indians* of *Zojabah* met with a mule for me, and another for my carriage in a narrow paſſage where the way went wheeling. Here I lighted, whilſt the *Indians* helped one another to unload and load the mule that came of refreſh. Out of the narrow way the ſide of the Mountain was ſteepy, and a fearfull precipice of two or three miles to the bottome, almoſt bare of trees, here and there one only growing. My heart was true unto me, wiſhing

me

me to walke up a foot untill I came unto ſome broader paſſage; but the *Indians* perceiving my fear told me there was no danger; aſſuring me further that the Mule they had brought was ſure, and had been well uſed to that mountain. With their perſwaſions I got up, but no ſooner was I mounted when the Mule began to play her prankes and to kick, and to leap out of the way, caſting me down and herſelf, both rouling and tumbling apace to the rocks and death, had not a ſhrub prevented me, and a tree ſtopped the Mules blind fury. The *Indians* cried out, *milagro*, *milagro*, miracle, miracle, *Santo*, *Santo*, a Saint, a Saint, to me ſo loud as if they would have had their cry reach to *Rome* to help forward my canonization; for many ſuch miracles have ſome been noiſed at *Rome*, and with further contribution of mony have been enrolled in the book and Catalogue of Saints. Whilſt the *Indians* helped me up and brought the Mule again into the way, they did nothing but flatter me with this term Saint; which they needed not have done, if as they conſidered my dangerous fall and ſtopping at a ſhrub (which was by chance, and not by miracle) they had further conſidered my paſſion and haſty wrath (not befitting a Saint) wherewith I threatned to baſt their ribs for deceiving me with a yong Mule not well accuſtomed to the ſaddle. But all my haſty words and anger could not diſcredit me with them, nor leſſon their conceipt of my holineſſe and ſanctity, who hold the anger and wrath of a Prieſt to be the breath of Gods noſtrils, and with this their fooliſh conceit of me, they kneeled before me kiſſing my hands. The buſineſſe being further examined, they confeſſed that they had been miſtaken in the Mules, having ſadled for me that which ſhould have carried my Petaca's, or leatherne cheſts, which was a young Mule accuſtomed only to carriages, and not to the ſaddle, and upon that which ſhould have been ſadled they put my carriage. Whilſt they unloaded and loaded again and ſadled the right Mule, I walked up the hill about a mile, and when they overtook me I got up and rid till I met with my refreſhing harbour and Chocolatte, and many *Indians* that came to receive me, among whom it was preſently noiſed that I was a Saint and had wrought a miracle in the way; with this the reſt of the *Indians* kneeled to me and kiſſed my hands, and in the way that we went to the Town, all their talk was of my ſanctity. I was much vexed at their ſimplicity, but the more they ſaw me unwilling to accept of that honour, the more they preſſed it upon me. When I came to the Town I told the Fryer what had happened, and what the fooliſh *Indians* had conceited; at which he laughed, and told me that he would warrant me if I ſtayed long in the Town, all the men and women would come to kiſſe my hands and to offer their gifts unto me. He knew well their qualities, or elſe had taught them this ſuperſtition with many others; for no ſooner had we dined, but many were gathered to the Church to ſee the Saint that was come to their Town, and that had wrought a miracle in the mountain as he came. With this I began to be more troubled then before at the folly of the ſimple people, and deſired the Fryer to check and rebuke them, who by no means would, but rather laughed at it, ſaying, that in policy we ought to accept of any honour from the *Indians*, for as long as we had credit and an opinion of Saints among them, ſo long we ſhould prevail to do any thing with them, yea even to command them and their fortunes at our pleaſure. With this I went down with the Fryer to the Church, and ſat down with him in a chair in the Quire, repreſenting the perſon of ſuch a Saint as they imagined me to be, though in reality and truth but a wretched ſinner.

No ſooner had we taken up our places, when the *Indians*, men, women and children came up by three and four, or whole families to the Quire, firſt kneeling down for my bleſſing, and then kiſſing my hands, they began to ſpeak to me in their *Indian* complements to this purpoſe, that their Town was happy and doubtleſſe bleſſed from heaven by my coming into it, and that they hoped their ſoules ſhould be much the better if they might partake of my prayers to God for them. And for this purpoſe ſome offered unto me mony, ſome hony, ſome eggs, ſome little mantles, ſome Plantins, and other fruits, ſome fowles, and ſome Turkies. The Fryer that ſat by me I perceived was overjoyed with this, for he knew I was to be gone, and would leave unto him all thoſe offerings. I deſired him to make anſwer unto the *Indians* in my behalfe, excuſing me as not well verſed in their language (yet the fools if they thought and judged me to be a Saint, might have expected from me alſo the gift of tongues) which he did telling them that I had been but a while in that Countrey, and though I underſtood part of their language, yet could not ſpeak nor pronounce it perfectly, and

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therefore from me he did give them hearty thanks for the great love they had shewed unto an Ambassadour of God, witnessing it with so many sorts of offerings, which assuredly should remind him and me of our offerings for them, in our prayers and hearty recommendations of them and their children unto God. Thus was that ceremony ended, the *Indians* dismissed, and the Fryer and I went up to a chamber, where he began to tell his egs, and fowles and to dispose of some of them for our supper; he told me he would take them, but at my departure would give me somewhat for them; he bad me keep what mony they had given me, and told me I was welcome unto him, and no burdensome guesse, but very profitable, who had brought with me store of provision for my self and for him many dayes after. The mony I received came to forty Rials, besides twenty which he gave me for the other offerings, which might be worth forty more; all this I got for having a fall from a Mule, and for not breaking my neck. I would faine have departed the next morning, but *John Vidall* (so was the Fryer named) would not permit me, for that the next journey was of at least 10 leagues, and therefore he would have me rest my self the next day.

This Town of *Zojabah*, or *Sacualpa* is the biggest and fairest of all the Towns that belong unto the Priory of *Sacapula*; the *Indians* are rich, and make of their Cotton-wool many mantles, they have plenty of hony, and great flocks of goats and kids; but here, nor in all the Towns behind there is no wheat, save only *Indians* Maiz. The next day some small offerings fell unto me, but nothing like the day before; and so I told the Fryer, that now the peoples devotion was decaied, I would be gone in the morning before day. That night the chief *Indians* of the Towne came to offer their service and attendance upon me to a Rancho or lodge that standeth in the middle way; but I would not accept of the great ones, but desired that I might have three only of the meaner sort to guide me till I met with company from the Town whither I was going, and whither I had sent warning of my coming. The time appointed was three of the clock in the morning; at which hour after a little sleep I was called, and having drunk my Chocolatte, and eat a maple bread with a little Conserve, I prepared my self for my journey, and found the *Indians* ready waiting for me in the yard, with pieces of pine-wood, which burn like torches, and with which they use to travell in the night, and to shew the way to him whom they guide. A little from the Town we had some craggy wayes, which indeed had need of lights, but afterwards we came into a plain champaign Countrey, which continued till within a league of the middle way lodge; to the which we were to descend a steep hill. When we came thither (which was about seven in the morning) we found our fresh supply waiting for us, who had set out from their Town at midnight to meet us (note the *Indians* subjection to their Priests command) and had made us a fire, and warmed water for our Chocolatte. Which whilst I was drinking, the *Indians* of *Zojabah*, who had guided me thither, gave notice to those that came to receive from St. *Martin* (so was the Town called whither I was that day minded) of my miracle and sanctity, wishing them to reverence and respect me in the way. But not for this their foolish report did I make the *Indians* of *Zojabah* drink every one a cup of Chocolatte, and so dismissed them; and took forwards my journey to St. *Martin*. Most of the way was hilly and craggy till we came within two miles of the Town; to the which we arrived by noon. This Town is cold, standing high, yet pleasant for the prospect almost to *Guatemala*; here, and in most of the Towns about it is most excellent Wheat. The hony of this Town is the best in the Countrey; but above all it furnisheth *Guatemala* with Quailes, Partridges, and Rabbits. It is the first Town we enter into belonging to the City and command of *Guatemala*; which did not a little comfort me, that now I wanted but one good journey to make an end of my long, tedious and wearisome travelling. The Fryer of this Town named *Thomas de la Cruz* belonged unto the Dominican Cloister of *Guatemala*; he was a Criolian, but yet he entertained me very lovingly. I stayed with him but that night. And in the morning (though I might have gone to dinner to *Guatemala*) I would needs go by the way to one of the biggest Townes in that Countrey, called *Chimaltenango*, standing in an open valley three leagues from the City, consisting of a thousand house-keepers, and rich *Indians* who trade much about the Countrey. In this Town in my time there was one *Indian*, who alone had bestowed upon the Church five thousand duckates. The Chuch yeelds to none in the City of *Guatemala*, and in musick it exceeds most about the Countrey. The chief feast of *Chimaltenango* is upon

upon the 26. day of *July*, (which they call St. *Annes* day) and then is the richeſt fair that ever my eyes beheld in thoſe parts of all ſorts of Merchants and Merchandize; It is further ſet forth with Bul-baiting, Horſe-racing, Stage-playes, Maskes, dances, Muſick, and all this gallantly performed by the *Indians* of the Town. The Fryer of this Town was a Dominican, belonging to the Cloiſter of the Dominicans of *Guatemala*, named *Alonſo Hidalgo*, a four eyed old man, for he alwayes wore ſpectacles. He was a *Spaniard* born, but having been brought up in that Countrey from his youth, and having taken his habit and vowes in *Guatemala* amongſt the Criolians, he degenerated from his birth and Countrey-men, hating all ſuch as came from *Spain*. He was a deadly enemy to the Provinciall (ayming indeed himſelf to be Provinciall with the favour of the Criolians) and ſo I perceived he would have picked a quarrell with me) whilſt I was with him; he told me I was welcome, though he had little reaſon to bid any welcome that had come from *Spain*, who he thought came but to ſupplant thoſe that had been born and brought up there in their own Countrey, and that for ought he knew, I learning the language of thoſe *Indians* might one day diſpoſſeſſe him of that Town, wherein he had continued above ten years; he inveyed much againſt the Provinciall and Fryer *John Baptiſt* the Prior of *Guatemala*, whom he knew to be my friend; But to all this I anſwered not a word, reſpecting his grave and old age, and Cryſtall ſpectacles. At laſt he told me that he had heard ſay, that the *Indians* of *Zojabah* had cried me up for a Saint, which he could not believe of any that came from *Spain*, much leſſe of me that came from *England* a countrey of hereticks; but he feared rather that I might come as a ſpie, to view the riches of that their Countrey, and betray them hereafter to *England*; and that in *Guatemala* there were many rich pieces, eſpecially a picture of our Lady, and a lampe in the Cloiſter of the Dominicans, which he doubted not but I would be carefull to pry into. But all this I put up with a jeſt, ſaying, I would be ſure to take notice firſt of the riches of his chamber in pictures, hangings, and rich Cabinets, and that if the *Engliſh* came thither in my time, I would ſurely conduct them to it; and if he himſelf would but cauſe a ſet of teeth of ſilver to be ſet in his gums and jawes in ſtead of thoſe leaden ones, (for he was ſo old that he had loſt all his teeth, and had got ſome of lead in their ſtead) then ſurely I would alſo conduct the *Engliſh* to him as to a rich prize for his teeth, and that I would warrant him he ſhould be well uſed for his outward and inward riches; and that this my counſell might be profitable and of conſequence to him, I told him; for if the *Engliſh* ſhould come, certainly they would try of what metall his teeth were made, thinking that they might be of ſome rare and exquiſite ſubſtance found only in that Countrey, and ſo might cauſe him to drink ſuch hot and ſcalding broath, (to try whether they were lead) as might melt them in his mouth, and make the melted lead to run down his throat, which if they were of ſilver they would not do. He perceived I jeared him, and ſo he let me alone; I was glad I had put him out of his former byas of railing; ſo dinner being ended, I told him I would not ſtay ſupper, but go to *Guatemala* to a light ſupper in the Cloiſter, for that he had given me ſuch a dinner, as I feared I ſhould not have digeſted it in few dayes. I deſired him to let me have *Indians* to guide me to *Guatemala*, which he willingly performed, peradventure fearing that if I ſtayed ſupper with him, I ſhould melt the teeth in his mouth with ſome ſcalding cup of my Chocolatte brought from *Chinpa*, or that in the night I ſhould rifle or plunder his chamber of his rich Idols and Ebony Cabinets. The *Indians* being come, I made haſt to be gone from that four eyed beaſt, being now deſirous of a conſtant reſt in *Guatemala*. Within a league from this Town of *Chimaltenango*, the Rode way leaving that open, wide, and ſpacious valley, contracts and gathereth in it ſelf between hils and mountains ſtanding on each ſide, and ſo continueth to the City. From this Valley unto *Guatemala*, neither is there any aſcent or deſcent, but a plain, broad and ſandy way. The eye hath much to view, though compaſſed with Mountains, in theſe two laſt leagues; for yet it may behold a Town of *Indians* which taketh up moſt of the way, and is counted as big as *Chimaltenango*, if not bigger, the houſes lying ſcattered with a diſtance one from another, mingled with many fair buildings of *Spaniards*, who reſort much thither from the City for their recreation. This Town is called *Xocotenango*, of a fruit named Xocotte, which is moſt plentifull there, and all about the Country: it is freſh and cooling, of a yellow colour when ripe, and of two ſorts, ſome ſweet, and others ſowre, of the ſtones whereof the *Indians* make a fire-

fire; they lie so thick in the way, dropping from the trees for want of gathering and spending them all, that the *Spaniards* have begun to practise the buying of Hogs on purpose to let them run about that high way, finding that they fat as speedily and as well with those plummes, as our Hogs do in *England* with Akorns. All this way are also many fair gardens, which supply the Markets of *Guatemala* with herbs, roots, fruits, and flowers all the year. There are further in this Rode three water mils for the corn of the City, whereof the chief and the richest belongs to the Dominican Fryers of *Guatemala*, who keep there a Fryer constantly with three or four Blackmores to do and oversee the work; What will not those Fryers do to satisfie their covetous mindes? Even dusty Millars they will become to get wealth. The Frontispice of the Church of this Town is judged one of the best pieces of work thereabouts; the high Altar within is also rich and stately, being all daubed with gold. I made no stay in this place, because I knew I should have many occasions after my setling in the City to come unto it. And thus keeping between the hils I continued on my journey till I came to *Guatemala*; whose Dominions, riches and greatnesse the following Chapter shall largely shew.

Chap. XVIII.

Describing the Dominions, Government, Riches, and greatnesse of the City of Guatemala, *and Country belonging unto it.*

I Had not rid on above a mile from the Church of *Xocotenango*, when the Hils and Mountains seemed to depart one from another, leaving a more spatious object for the eye to behold, and a wider Valley to wander in. The fame of that City from *Mexico* and *Chiapa* had raised up my thoughts to conceit of some strong wals, Towers, Forts or Bulwarks to keep out an aspiring or attempting enemy; But when I came near and least thought of it, I found my self in it without entring through wals, or gates, or passing over any bridge, or finding any watch or guard to examine who I was; but passing by a new built Church, standing near a place of dunghils, where were none but mean houses, some thatched, and some tyled, and asking what Town that was, answer was made me that it was the City of *Guatemala*, and that that, being called St. *Sebastian*, was the only Parish Church of the City. With this my high conceiting thoughts stooped down to think of some second *Chiapa*; till having continued on a while by houses on my right hand and dunghils on my left, I came to a broader street having houses on each side, which seemed to promise a City at hand. At my first turning I discovered a proud and stately Cloister, which was the place of rest to my wearied body. I surrounded it to find out the back gate, and there lighted, and enquired for the Prior, who bad me very welcome, assuring me that for the Provincials sake, I should want no incouragement, and that he would do for me much more then what the Provinciall had signified unto him by Letters. He told me he had been brought up in *Spain*, in the Countrey of *Asturias*, where many *English* ships did use to come, and having seen there many of my Nation, he affected them very much, and to me as one of so good a Nation, and as a stranger and Pilgrime out of my own Country, he would shew all the favour that the utmost of his power could afford. How glad was I, to find in him so contrary an opinion to that of four eyed *Hidalgo?* And how did he performe his words? He was the chief Master and Reader of Divinity in the University, his name Master *Jacintho de Cabannas*, who finding me desirous to follow the Schools, and especially to hear from him some lessons of Theologie, within the first quarter of year, that I had been his constant and attentive Auditor, graced me with a publick act of conclusions of Divinity, which I was to defend under his direction and moderation in the face of the whole University and Assembly of Doctors and Divines, against the Tenents of *Scotus* and *Suarez*. But the principall and head conclusion was concerning the birth of the Virgin *Mary*, whom both Jesuites, *Suarez* and Franciscans, and Scotists hold to have been borne without Originall sinne, or

any

MAR DEL NORTE
MAR DEL ZVR
DE COSTARICA
AUDIENCIA DE GUATIMALA
VERAGVA
TERRA FIRMA
GOVERNACION DE SANCTA MARTHA
NVEVO REYNO DE GRANADA
VALDE NEYVA
TERRA FIRMA et NOVVM-REGNVM GRANATENSE et POPAIAN.
Leucæ Hispanicæ
Milliaria Germanicæ

RPJCB

any guilt or ſtain of it, againſt whoſe fond, fooliſh and ungrounded fancies, I publickly defended with *Thomas Aquinas*, and all Thomiſts, that ſhee (as well as all *Adams* poſterity) was born in Originall ſin. It was an act, the like whereof had not been ſo controverted in that Univerſity with arguments in *contra*, and their anſwers and ſolutions, and with reaſons and arguments in *pro*, many years before. The Jeſuites ſtamped with their feet, clapt with their hands, railed with their tongues, and condemned it with their mouths for a hereſie, ſaying, that in *England*, where were hereticks, ſuch an opinion concerning Chriſts mother might be held, and defended by me who had my birth among hereticks, but that Maſter *Cabannas* born among *Spaniards*, and brought up in their Univerſities, and being the chief Reader in that famous Academy ſhould maintain ſuch an opinion, they could not but much marvail and wonder at it. But with patience I told them, that ſtrong reaſons, and the further authority of many learned *Thomiſts* Divines ſhould ſatisfie their vain and clamorous wondring. The Act was ended, and though with Jeſuites I could get no credit, yet with the Dominicans, and with Maſter *Cabannas*, I got ſo much that I never after loſt it for the ſpace of almoſt twelve years; but was ſtill honored by the means of this *Cabannas* and Fryer *John Baptiſt* the Prior of *Chiapa* (who at Chriſtmas enſuing was made Prior of *Guatemala*) with honours and preferments as great as ever ſtranger was living among *Spaniards*. Theſe two above named being at Candlemas or beginning of *February* that ſame year at *Chiapa* at the election of a new Provinciall, would not forget me their pooreſt friend ſtill abiding in *Guatemala*, but remembring that the Univerſity (which belonged chiefly to the Cloiſter) at Michaelmas would want a new Reader or Maſter of Arts to begin with Logick, continue through the eight books of Phyſicks, and to end with the Metaphyſicks, propounded me to the new elected Provinciall (whoſe name was Fryer *John Ximeno*) and to the whole Chapter and conventicle of the Province for Reader of Arts in *Guatemala* the Michaelmas next enſuing. Their ſuit for me was ſo earneſt and their authority ſo great that nothing could be denied them, and ſo they brought unto me from the Provinciall Chapter theſe inſuing Letters Patents, from Fryer *John Ximeno*, whoſe form and manner I thought fit here to inſert out of the Original in *Spaniſh* (which to this day abideth with me) for curioſity and ſatisfaction of my Reader.

FRay Juan Ximeno Predicador General y Prior Provincial deſta Provincia de San Vicente de Chiapa y Guatemala, Orden de Predicadores, Por quanto nueſtro Convento de Sancto Domingo de Guatemala carece de Lector de Artes, Por la preſente Inſtituyo y doy por Lector Al Padre fray Thomas de Sancta Maria (ſo was my name then, and by this name will ſome *Spaniards* know me, who may chance hereafter to read this, and curſe me) *por la ſatisfaccion que tengo de ſu ſufficientia. Y mando al Pe. Prior del dicho nueſtro Convento, le ponga en poſſeſſion del tal Officio. Y para mayor merito de obedientia le mando in virtute Spiritus ſancti, et ſanctæ obedientiæ, et ſub præcepto formali; In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus ſancti. Amen. Fecho en eſte nueſtro Convento de Chiapa la Real en nueve de Febrero de 1627. Y la mande ſellar con ſello major de nueſtro officio.*

Fray Juan
or
Ximeno Plis

Por Mandado de Noſtro Rdo. Padre, Fray Juan de Sto. Domingo Not^r.

Notifique eſta Patente a el Contenido, en 12 dias del mes de Abril de 1627.
Fray Juan
Baptiſta Por.

This Form according to the Originall in *Spaniſh* is thus in *Engliſh*, and to this purpoſe.

FRyer *John Ximeno* Preacher Generall, and Prior Provinciall of this Province of Saint *Vincent* of *Chiapa* and *Guatemala*, Order of Preachers, Whereas

Whereas our Convent of Saint *Dominick* of *Guatemala* wanteth and ſtands in need of a Reader of Arts: By theſe preſents I do inſtitute, name and appoint for Reader Fryer *Thomas* of Saint *Mary*, for the great ſatisfaction which I have of his ſufficiency. And I command the Prior of the aforeſaid our Convent, that he put him into full poſſeſſion and enjoyment of the ſaid Office. And for the greater merit of obedience I command him (our forenamed Reader) by vertue of the Holy Ghoſt, and of holy obedience, and under a formall precept, In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt, Amen. Dated in this our Convent of *Chiapa* the Royall, the ninth of *February*, 1627. And I commanded theſe to be ſealed with the great Seal of our Office.

Fryer John
or
Ximeno Pal.

By the command of our Reverend Father Fryer John of St. Dominick. Notary.

I notified theſe Letters Patents, unto the contained in them the 12. *day of the moneth of* Aprill, 1427.

Fryer John
Baptiſt. Por.

This honour conferred upon me a ſtranger, and new commer to the Province, made the Criolian party and ſome others (who had aymed at that place and preferment in the Univerſity) to ſtomack me. But to me it was a ſpurre to ſtir and prick me on to a more eager purſuit of learning, to frequent the *Academy* leſſons with more care and diligence; and to ſpend my ſelf and time, day and night, more in ſtudying, that ſo I might performe with like honour that which was laid upon me, and anſwer the expectation of my beſt and forwardeſt friends. Three years I continued in this Convent and City in obedience to the forecited Patents; oftentimes I thought within my ſelf that the honour of my *Engliſh* Nation here lay upon me in *Guatemala*, in not ſuffering any *Spaniard* to go beyond me, or to outbrave me with gallant, witty and well ſeeming arguments; and ſo many times I would at nine of the clock at night, when others were gone to bed, take in my chamber a cup of hot Chocolatte, that with it I might baniſh ſleep from mine eyes, and might the better continue in my ſtudy till one or two in the morning, being bound to awake and be up again by ſix. I was loath in theſe three years to take upon me any other of ſuch charges which are common in ſuch Convents; but eſpecially to preach much, and to hear the Confeſſions of ſuch both men and women as reſorted to the Church of that Cloiſter, leſt hereby my ſtudies might be hindered, and time ſpent in other wayes. Yet the Prior and Maſter *Cabannas* would often be very importunate with me, to obtain the Biſhops Licenſe for hearing of Confeſſions, and Preaching abroad in the City and Country (for in the Church of that Cloiſter I might and did ſometimes, though ſeldome, preach with Permiſſion of the Provinciall) but this I ſtrongly refuſed, untill ſuch time as the Provinciall himſelf came to *Guatemala*, who hearing me once Preach, would by all means have me further licenſed and authorized from the Biſhop, that ſo I might not be ſtraitned within the Cloiſters limits, but abroad in other Churches might freely Preach, and thereby get ſome mony for the better furniſhing my ſelf with Bookes. He therefore commanded me to be examined by five examiners all able Divines, for the ſpace of three hours (as is the cuſtome of that Order) and having three hours ſtood under their hard and rigid queſtions and examination, having alſo at the end obtained their approbation, then the Provinciall preſented me unto the Biſhop with theſe words following, being taken out of the Originall yet abiding with me.

FRay Juan Ximeno Predicador General, y Provincial deſta Provincia de San Vicente de Chiapa y Guatemala, Orden de Predicadores, Preſento a Veſtra

Vueſtra Sennoria Illuſtriſsima al Padre Fray Thomas de Sancta Maria, examinado y a provado por cinco examinadores per vota Secreta, conforme a nueſtras Conſtitutiones, Para que Vueſtra Sennoria Illuſtriſsima ſe ſirva de darle licencia para Confeſſar y Predicar a todo genero de Gente en ſu Obiſpado, Conforme a la Clementina, Dudum de Sepulturis.

A Vueſtra Sennoria Illuſtriſsima Suplico le aya por Preſentado, y ſe ſirva de dalle la dicha licencia, que en ello recibire merced.

Fray Juan
or
Ximeno. Palis.

This forme of Preſentation, uſed among them, naming the party preſenting, and the party preſented, is in Engliſh much to this purpoſe.

FRyer *Johh Ximeno,* Preacher Generall, and Provinciall of this Province of St. *Vincent,* of *Chiapa* and *Guatemala,* Order of Preachers, do preſent unto your Lordſhip the father Fryer *Thomas* of St. *Mary* (already examined, and approved by five Examiners by ſecret Votes, according to our Rule and Conſtitutions) that your Lordſhip may be pleaſed to grant him licence to hear Confeſſions and to preach to all ſorts of people in your Biſhoprick, according to that Rule and Canon of Pope *Clement,* beginning with theſe words, *Dudum de Sepulturis.*

I humbly beſeech your Lordſhip, to have him for preſented, and to grant him your foreſaid Licence; and therein I ſhall receive great favour.

Fryer Johh
or
Ximeno. Palis.

The Biſhop of *Guatemala* being my great friend, and a well-wiſher to learning and eſpecially to that Univerſitie, needed not many words of intreaty, but preſently gave me this Licence written on the back-ſide of the Preſentation, and that without any further examination by his Clergy and part of his Chapter, which he may and doth uſe when he pleaſeth.

NOs el Maeſtro Don Fray Joan de Sandoval, y, Capata, de la Orden de San Auguſtin por la Divina Gracia Obiſpo de Guatemala y la Vera Paz, del Conſejo de ſu Magiſtad etc. Por la Preſente damos licencia al Padre Fray Thomas de Santa Maria de la Orden de Predicadores Contenido en la Preſentation de ſu Religion atras Contenida, Para que en todo eſte nueſtro Obiſpado pueda Predicar, y Predique la Palabra de Dios, y para que pueda adminiſtrar, y adminiſtre el Sacramento Santo de la Penitentia generalmente a todas las Perſonas que con el tubieren Devocion de Confeſſare (excepto Monias) y a las Perſonas que Confeſſare pueda abſolver, y abſuelva de todos ſus pecados, Crimines y exceſſos, excepto de los caſos reſervados a ſu ſantidad, y a Nos por Direcho. Dada en la Ciudad de Santiago de Guatemala, en quarto de Diziembre de Mill, y Seyſcientos y veynte y nueve Annos.

Cl. Obiſpo de
Guatemala

Por Mandado del Illmo. mi Senor Pedro Ramirez de Valdes,
Secretario.

This forme of licence to preach and hear confeſſions, from the Biſhop of *Guatemala*, is worth Engliſhing for ſome things in it, which I ſhall obſerve with incloſed Parentheſes as I goe along for the better reminding my Reader of them.

WEE (*Biſhops in that Church ſcorn the name of a ſingular perſon, ſhewing they have the power of all perſons joyned together in them, of rich and poor, of ſubject and Prince*) Maſter and Lord Fryer *John de Sandoval y Capata* of the Order of St. *Auguſtin* (*though brought up in a poor Mendicant Cloiſter, yet now he takes upon him the title of a Lord, and ſhewes how Prelates in that Church uſe to Lord it over the people*) by the Divine Grace Biſhop of *Guatemala* and the *Vera Paz* (*he ſtyles himſelf a Biſhop by Divine Grace, whereas he himſelf according to the common report of him, as alſo are moſt Biſhops there made, was made Biſhop not by any Divine Grace, but by unwarranted Simony and favour from Courtiers, having given many thouſand Crownes for that his Biſhopricke*) of his Majeſties Councell (*Biſhops there muſt be Counſellors to Kings, and meddle in Court and Politicke affaires*) by theſe Preſent give licence to Father Fryer *Thomas* of Saint *Mary*, of the Order of Preachers, contained in the Preſentation from his religious Order on the back-ſide of this our licence, that throughout all our Biſhoprick he may and do preach the word of God (*yet I confeſſe This word of God is little uſed in Sermons in that Church, but rather the words of Saints of theirs and Fathers, and lying words of miracles, wherewith they ſtuffe up a whole houres preaching*) and that he may and do adminiſter the holy Sacrament of Penance (*not holy as it came from the mouth of him to whom the Seraphims cry Holy, Holy, Holy, but as it came from the head of* Rome, *who ſacrilegiouſly ſtyles himſelf Holineſſe and moſt Holy Father. Not a Sacrament as ſo left and ordained by Chriſt, but one of* Romes *ſeven Sacraments, which as it is a City known and diſtinguiſhed by ſeven hils, ſo will that Church be known and diſtinguiſhed from the true Church by ſeven Sacraments*) generally to all perſons, which ſhall have devotion to confeſſe with him, excepting Nuns (*this Biſhop had in that City one of the ſix Judges of the Chancery his daughter a Nun called* Donna Juana de Maldonado y Paz, *whom he loved dearly, and much conferred with her in private in the Cloiſter, whoſe private conferences he was jealous they ſhould be known in Confeſſion, and therefore would ſuffer none to hear Nuns Confeſſions, but ſuch as were his moſt intimate friends, and of whom he had great ſatisfaction, alleadging this reaſon that ſuch as heard Nuns Confeſſions ought to be very skilfull and experienced in ſuch wayes, and men of age; for that greater caſes of Conſcience were to be met with in Nuns Confeſſions, then in others. By which reaſon he unwiſely brought an aſperſion upon thoſe Virgins, who ſhould live chaſtly and holily as ſeparated from the world and incloſed, and yet it ſeems by this Biſhops opinion, that within their incloſed wals ſins are committed more grievous then abroad in the wide world, and ſuch as may puzzle a Ghoſtly Father if not skilfull and ancient*) and that he may and do abſolve all perſons which ſhall confeſſe with him (*if only God can pardon and abſolve from ſin, Oh how is Gods power arrogated and taken, yea and abuſed by thoſe ſacrilegious Prieſts!*) from all their ſins, crimes, and exceſſes, excepting ſuch caſes as are reſerved to his Holineſſe, and to us by Canon right. (*A wicked rule and Canon, a Government certainly moſt cruell and tyrannicall, that binds poor wretches in ſome caſes to go from* America *to* Rome, *at leaſt eight thouſand miles to clear their Conſciences before the Pope, or elſe they muſt die without pardon and abſolution from ſin, many having not meanes to go thither, nor gifts to beſtow upon their Pope, who muſt be bribed to abſolve them. O how more ſweet, comfor-*

comfortable and safe is it for a heinous sinner and offendour even at home or in the Church grieving within his heart, and keeping within himself, to lift up a broken heart, and make that poste and flie with wings of Eagles to the high Throne of Gods grace and mercy, with assured confidence that there only is pardon, remission and absolution granted to all such as do truely and unfeignedly repent of their sins, crimes and excesses!) Dated in the City of St. *James* of *Guatemala*, the fourth day of *December*, in the year of our Lord 1629.

The Bishop of Gnatemala.

By the Command of my most Illustrious Lord, Peter Ramirez de Valdes. *Secretary.*

Thus with full and ample Commission from the Bishop and the Provinciall was I setled in *Guatemala*, to read and preach, where (although I might have continued many years, and was offered to read Divinity, having in part begun it one quarter of a year) I continued yet but three years and almost an half for the reason I shall shew hereafter. So what in that time I could observe of that City, and of the Countrey round about, having had occasions to travaile about it both when I lived in *Guatemala*, and afterwards when I lived for above seven years in the Countrey Towns, I shall truly and faithfully recommend unto my Reader. This City of *Guatemala* (called by the *Spaniards*, *Santjago*, or St. *James* of *Guatemala* is seated in a valley, which is not above two miles and a halfe broad, for the high mountains do keep it close in; but in length towards the South-sea it containes a wide and champaigne Countrey, opening it self broader a little beyond that Town, which to this day is called *la Ciudad Vieja*, or the old City, standing somewhat above three miles from *Guatemala*. Though the mountains on each side do strongly environ it, and especially on the East-side seem to hang over it, yet none of them are hinderers to Travellers, who over them have opened wayes easie for man and beasts though heavily laden with wares of all sorts. The way from *Mexico*, if taken by the coast of *Soconuzco*, and *Suchutepeques* comes into the City North-west-ward, which is a wide, open and sandy rode; if it be taken by *Chiapa*, it lyeth North-east, and entreth into the City between the mountains, as before hath been noted. West-ward to the South-sea the way lyeth open through the valley and a champaigne Countrey. But South or South-east, the entrance is over high and steepy hils, which is the common rode from *Comayagua*, *Nicaragua*, and the *Golfo dulce* or sweet Gulfe, where the ships come yearly and unlade all the Commodities which are brought from *Spain* for *Guatemala*. This also is the way followed by them who take a journey meer East-ward from this City. But the chiefest mountains, which straighten in this City and valley are two, called Vulcanes, the one being a Vulcan of water, and the other a Vulcan or mountain of fire, termed so by the *Spaniards*, though very improperly a Vulcan may be said to contain water, it taking its name from the heathenish God *Vulcan*, whose profession and imployment chiefly was in fire. These two famous mountains stand almost the one over against the other, on each side of the valley; that of water hanging on the South-side almost perpendicularly over the City, the other of fire standing lower from it, more opposite to the old City. That of water is higher then the other, and yeelds a goodly prospect to the sight, being almost all the year green, and full of *Indian* Milpa's which are plantations of *Indian* wheat; and in the small and petty Towns which lie some half way up it, some at the foot of it, there are Roses, Lillies, and other flowers all the year long in the Gardens, besides Plantins, Apricockes, and many sorts of sweet and delicate fruits. It is called by the *Spaniards*, *el Vulcan del agua*, or the Vulcan of water, because on the other side of it from *Guatemala* it springs with many brooks towards a Town called Saint *Christopher*, and especially is thought to preserve and nourish on that side also a great lake of fresh water, by the Towns called *Amatitlan* and *Petapa*. But on the side of it towards *Guatemala* and the valley it yeelds also so many springs of sweet and fresh water, as have caused and made a river which runneth along the valley close by the City, and is that which drives the water-mils spoken of before in *Xocotenango*. This river was not known when first the *Spaniards* conquered that Countrey; but since, according to their constant Tradition;

on; the City of *Guatemala* ſtanding higher and nearer to the *Vulcan* in that place and Town which to this day is called *la Ciudad Vieja*, or the old City, there lived in it then about the year 1534. a Gentlewoman called *Donna Maria de Caſtilia*, who having loſt her husband in the warres, and that ſame year buried alſo all her children, grew ſo impatient under theſe her croſſes and afflictions, that impiouſly ſhe defied God, ſaying, What can God do more unto me now then he hath done? he hath done his worſt without it be to take away my life alſo, which I now regard not. Upon theſe words there guſhed out of this Vulcan ſuch a flood of water as caried away this woman with the ſtream, ruined many of the houſes, and cauſed the inhabitants to remove to the place where now ſtandeth *Guatemala*. This is the *Spaniards* own Tradition, which if true, ſhould be our example to learn to fear and not to defie God, when his judgments ſhew him to us angry and a God that will overcome, when he judgeth. From that time, and from this their Tradition is the Town now ſtanding where firſt ſtood *Guatemala*, called *la Ciudad Vieja*, or the old City, and hath continued a river which before was not known, having its head and ſpring from this high Vulcan, whoſe pleaſant ſprings, gardens, fruits, flowers and every green and flouriſhing proſpect might be a fair object to a *Martials* wit, who here would fancie a new *Parnaſſus*, find out new ſteps of flying *Pegaſus*, and greet the Nymphes and nine Sifters with this their never yet diſcovered and *American* habitation. This Vulcan or mountain is not ſo pleaſing to the ſight (whoſe height is judged full nine miles unto the top) but the other which ſtandeth on the other ſide of the valley oppoſite unto it, is unpleaſing and more dreadfull to behold; for here are aſhes for beauty, ſtones nnd flints for fruits and flowers, baldneſſe for greenneſſe, barrenneſſe for fruitfulneſſe, for water whiſperings and fountain murmurs, noiſe of thunders and roaring of conſuming metals, for running ſtreams, flaſhings of fire, for tall and mighty trees and Cedars, Caſtles of ſmoak riſing in height to out-dare the skie and firmament, for ſweet and odoriferous and fragrant ſmels, a ſtink of fire and brimſtone, which are ſtill in action ſtriving within the bowels of that ever burning and fiery Vulcan. Thus is *Guatemala* ſeated in the midſt of a Paradiſe on the one ſide and a hell on the other, yet never hath this hell broke ſo looſe as to conſume that flouriſhing City. True it is formerly many years agoe it opened a wide mouth on the top, and breathed out ſuch fiery aſhes as filled the houſes of *Guatemala* and the Countrey about, and parched all the plants and fruits, and ſpued out ſuch ſtones and rocks which had they fallen upon the City would have cruſhed it to pieces, but they fell not far from it, but to this day lie about the bottome and ſides of it, cauſing wonder to thoſe that behold them, and taking away admiration from them that admire the force and ſtrength of fire and power in carrying on a weighty bullet from the mouth of a canon, whereas here the fire of this mountain hath caſt up into the aire and tumbled down to the bottom of it ſuch rockes as in bigneſſe exceed a reaſonable houſe, and which not the ſtrength of any twenty Mules (as hath been tried) have been able to remove. The fire which flaſheth out of the top of this mountain is ſometimes more and ſometimes leſſe; yet while I lived in the City, on a certain time for the ſpace of three or four dayes and nights it did ſo burne that my friend Mr. *Cabannas* confidently avouched to me and others, that ſtanding one night in his window he had with the light of that fire read a letter, the diſtance being above three *Engliſh* miles. The roaring alſo of this monſtrous beaſt is not conſtantly alike, but is greater in the ſummer time then in the winter, that is, from *October* to the end of *April*, then all the reſt of the year; for then it ſeems, the winds entring into thoſe concavities ſet the fire on work harder then at other times, and cauſe the mountain to roar and the earth about to quake. There was a time three years before my coming to that City, when the inhabitants expected nothing but utter ruine and deſtruction, and durſt not abide within their houſes for nine dayes (the earthquakes continuing and encreaſing more and more) but made bowers and arbours in the Market place, placing there their Idoll Saints and Images, eſpecially St. *Sebaſtian*, whom they hoped would deliver them from that judgment, and for this purpoſe they dayly carried him through the ſtreets in ſolemn and Idolatrous proceſſion and adoration. But all the while I lived there the noiſe within the mountain, the ſmoak and flaſhes of fire without, and the Sumner earth-quakes were ſuch that with the uſe and cuſtome of them I never feared any thing, but thought that City the healthieſt and pleaſanteſt place of dwelling that ever I came into in all my travels. The climate is very temperate, far exceeding either *Mexico* or *Guaxaca*. Neither are the two fore-named Cities better

ſtored

ſtored with fruits, herbes for ſalets, proviſion of fiſh, and fleſh, Beef, Mutton, Veal, Kid, Fowles, Turkies, Rabbets, Quailes, Partridges, Pheaſants, and of *Indian* and *Spaniſh* Wheat, then is this City: from the South Sea (which lyeth in ſome places not above twelve leagues from it) and from the Rivers of the South Sea Coaſt, and from the freſh Lake of *Amatitlan* and *Petapa*, and from another Lake lying three or four leagues from *Chimaltenango*, it is well and plentifully provided for of fiſh. But for Beef there is ſuch plenty, that it exceeds all parts of *America*, without exception, as may be known by the Hydes, which are ſent yearly to *Spain* from the Countrey of *Guatemala*, where they commonly kill their Cattell, more for the gain of their Hydes in *Spain*, then for the goodneſſe or fatneſſe of the fleſh, which though it be not to compare to our *Engliſh* Beef, yet it is good mans meat, and ſo cheap, that in my time it was commonly ſold at thirteen pound and a half for half a Riall, the leaſt coyne there, and as much as three pence here. Though all about this Countrey there are very great and ſpatious Eſtancia's, or Farms for breeding only, even neer to the *Golfo Dulce*, where the ſhips ride that come from *Spain*, yet from *Comayagua*, St. *Salvador* and *Nicaragua*, is *Guatemala* ſtored; But above all are the great Eſtancia's in the South Sea Coaſt or Marſh, where in my time there was a Grazier that reckoned up going in his own Eſtancia and ground, forty thouſand heads of Beaſts, ſmall and great, beſides many which are called there *Simarrones*, or wild Cattell, which were ſtrayed among the Woods and Mountains, and could not be gathered in with the reſt, but were hunted by the *Black-mores* like wild Bores, and dayly ſhot to death, leſt they ſhould too much increaſe and do hurt. My ſelf chanced to be preſent at the Fair of the Town of *Petapa*, with a friend named *Lope de Chaves*, (who was as they call there, Obligado, or charged to provide fleſh for ſix or ſeven Towns thereabouts) who at one bargain, and of one man, bought ſix thouſand head of Cattell, great and ſmall, paying one with another eighteen Rials, or nine *Engliſh* ſhillings a head.

The manner and cuſtome of *Guatemala* for the better providing both Beef and Mutton for it, and the Countrey Towns about, is this. Nine dayes before *Michaelmas*, every day Proclamation is made about the City for an Obligado, or one that will be bound to the City and Countrey for competent proviſion of Fleſh meat upon forfeiture of ſuch a ſumme of money to his Majeſty, if he fail, as ſhall be agreed upon between him and the Court, and to the Inhabitants of the City; if he fail in Beef, he is to allow in Mutton ſo many pounds at the ſame rate as he ſhould have allowed Beef. If the Obligado fail in Mutton, he is to allow in Fowle fleſh, ſo many pounds and at the ſame rate as he was to allow the Mutton; and this with conſideration of the family, what competent allowance of fleſh meat ſhall be judged for a day, or the dayes that the Obligado ſhall fail. Beſides this the Proclamation is made for whom offers moſt to his Majeſty for one years Obligation. So that ſometimes it happeneth that the eight dayes ſeverall men come into the Court, offering more and more, till upon the ninth day and laſt Proclamation, the Office is ſetled for one year upon him that hath offered moſt unto his Majeſty. Thus many Butchers are not allowed but one only Obligado, who alſo is abridged to ſo many pound for ſo much mony, ſo that if any other beſides him offer to kill or ſell, he may follow an action and the Court againſt him: Thus the Obligado (who commonly is a monied man) buyeth by the hundred or by the thouſand, as for the preſent he findeth the expence of the City, without he be himſelf ſuch a Grazier, as hath Cattell enough of his own. Though Mutton be not ſo plentifull as is Beef, yet there never wants from the Valley of *Mixco*, *Penola*, *Pitapa*, and *Amatitlan*, and the *Marſh* and other places. In the Valley forenamed I lived, and was well acquainted with one *Alonſo Capata*, who had conſtantly going in the Valley four thouſand ſheep. *Guatemala* therefore is ſo well ſtored with good proviſion, plentifull and cheap, that it is hard to finde in it a begger, for with half a Riall the pooreſt may buy Beef for a week, and with a few Cacao's they may have bread of *Indian* Maiz, if not of *Spaniſh* Wheat. This City may conſiſt of about five thouſand families, beſides a Suburb of *Indians* called *el Barrio de Sto. Domingo*, where may be two hundred families more. The beſt part of the City is that which joyneth to this Suburb of *Indians*, and is called alſo *el Barrio Santo de Domingo*, by reaſon of the Cloiſter of Saint *Dominick* which ſtandeth in it. Here are the richeſt and beſt ſhops of the City, with the beſt buildings, moſt of the houſes being new, and ſtately. Here is alſo a dayly Tianguez (as they call it) or petty Market, where ſome

Indians all the day sit selling fruits, Herbs, and Cacao, but at the four in the afternoon, this Market is filled for a matter of an hour, where the *Indian* women meet to sell their Countrey slap, (which is dainties to the Criolians) as Atolle, Pinole, scalded Plantains, butter of the Cacao, puddings made of *Indian* Maiz, with a bit of Fowle or fresh Porke in them seasoned with much red biting Chille, which they call Anacatamales. The trading of the City is great, for by mules it partakes of the best commodities of *Mexico, Guaxaca* and *Chiapa*, and Southward of *Nicaragua*, and *Costarica*. By Sea it hath commerce with *Peru*, by two Sea ports and Havens, the one called *la Villa de la Trinidad*, the Village of the Trinity, which lyeth Southward from it five and twenty leagues; and by another called *el Realejo*, which lyeth five or six and forty leagues from it. It hath traffique with *Spain* by the North Sea from *Golfo dulce*, lying threescore leagues from it. It is not so rich as other Cities, yet for the quantity of it, it yeelds to none. There were in my time five (besides many other Merchants who were judged worth twenty thousand Duckats, thirty thousand, fifty thousand, some few a hundred thousand) who were judged of equall wealth, and generally reported to be worth each of them five hundred thousand Duckats; the first was *Thomas de Siliezer*, a Biscain born, and *Alcalde de Corte*, the Kings high Justice, or chief Officer at Court; the second was *Antonio Iustiniano*, a *Genovois* born, and one that bore often Offices in the City, and had many Tenements and houses, especially a great and rich Farm for Corn and Wheat in the Valley of *Mixco*. The third was *Pedro de Lira*, born in *Castilia*, the fourth and fifth, *Antonio Fernandez*, and *Bartolome Nunnez*, both *Portingals*, whereof the first in my time departed from *Guatemala* for some reasons which here I must conceale. The other four I left there, the three of them living at that end of the City called *Barrio de Santo Domingo*, or the street of St. *Dominick*, whose houses and presence makes that street excell all the rest of the City, and their wealth and trading were enough to denominate *Guatemala* a very rich City. The Government of all the Countrey about, and of all *Honduras, Soconusco, Comayagua, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Vera Paz, Cuchutepeques*, and *Chiapa*, is subordinate unto the Chancery of *Guatemala*; for although every Governour over these severall Provinces is appointed by the King and Councell of *Spain*, yet when they come to those parts to the enjoyment of their charge and execution office, then their actions, if unjust, are weighed, judged, censured, and condemned by the Court residing in the City. This Court of Chancery consisteth of a President, six Judges, one Kings Attourney, and two chief Justices of Court. The President though he have not the name and title of Viceroy, as they of *Mexico* and *Peru*, yet his power is as great and absolute as theirs. His Pension from the King is but twelve thousand Duckats a year; but besides this, if he be covetous, he makes by bribes and trading twice as much more, nay what he list, as was seen in the *Count de la Gomera*, President of that City and Chancery for the space of fourteen years, who departed in old age from *Guatemala* to *Canaria* (where was his house and place of birth) worth Millions of Duckats. After him succeeded *Don Juan de Guzman*, formerly President of *Santo Domingo*, who losing his Wife and Lady in the way, lost also his former spirit and courage, betaking himself wholly to his devotions, contemning wealth and riches, governing with love and mildnesse, which made the rest of the Judges, who were all for lucre, soon weary him out of his office, continuing in it but five years. His successor (whom I left there when I came away) was *Don Gonsalo de Paz y Lorencana*, who was promoted from the Presidency of *Panama* to that place, and came into it with such a spirit of covetousnesse as the like had not been seen in any former President. He forbad all gaming in private houses in the City, which there is much used (though by women not so much as in *Mexico*) not for that he hated it, but because he envied others, what they got and gained by their Cards, drawing to himself thereby all that gain, spending sometimes in one night four and twenty paire of Cards, appointing a Page to assist at the Tables, and to see the box well paid for every pair of Cards, which for his, and his Court respect, was seldome lesse then a crown or two for every pair. Thus did he lick up with his Cards most of the gamesters gaines, and would grudge and pick quarrels with such rich men whom he knew to affect gaming, if they frequented not his Court at night time for that bewitching Recreation.

The Pension which the King alloweth to every Judge of Chancery is four thousand Duckats

Duckats yearly, and three thousand to his Attorney, all which is paid out of the Kings Exchequer abiding in that City. Yet what besides they get by bribes, and trading is so much, that I have heard a Judge himself *Don Luis de las Infantas*, say, that though a Judges place at *Mexico* and *Lima* be more honourable, yet none more profitable then *Guatemala*. In my time were such causes at Chancery tried, as had never been, of murthers, robberies, and oppressions, and whereas it was expected the offendants some should be hanged, some banished, some imprisoned, some by fines impoverished, bribes took all off, so that I never knew one hanged in that City for the space of above eight years. The Churches though they be not so fair and rich as those of *Mexico*, yet they are for that place wealthy enough. There is but one Parish Church and a Cathedrall which standeth in the chief Marketplace: All the other Churches belonging to Cloisters, which are of Dominicans, Franciscans, Mercenarians, Augustines, and Jesuites, and two of Nuns, called the Conception and St. *Catharine*. The Dominicans, Franciscans, and Mercenarians are stately Cloisters, containing neer a hundred Fryers a piece; but above all is the Cloister where I lived, of the Dominicans, to which is joyned in a great Walk before the Church the University of the City. The yearly revenues which come into this Cloister, what from the *Indian* Towns belonging to it, what from a water-mill, what from a farme for Corn, what from an Estancia, or farme for Horses and Mules, what from an Ingenio, or farme of Sugar, what from a Mine of silver given unto it the year 1633. are judged to be (excepting all charges) at least thirty thousand duckats; wherewith those fat Fryers feast themselves, and have to spare to build, and enrich their Church and Altars. Besides much treasure belonging to it; there are two things in it, which the *Spaniards* in merriment would often tell me that the *English* Nation did much enquire after, when they took any ship of theirs at Sea, and that they feared I was come to spie them, which were a Lampe of silver hanging before the high Altar, so big as required the strength of three men to hale it up with a rope; but the other is of more value; which is a picture of the Virgin *Mary* of pure silver, and of the stature of a reasonable tall woman, which standeth in a Tabernable made on purpose in a Chappel of the Rosary with at least a dozen lampes of silver also burning before it. A hundred thousand duckats might soon be made up of the treasure belonging to that Church and Cloister. Within the wals of the Cloister there is nothing wanting which may further pleasure and recreation. In the lower Cloister there is a spatious garden, in the midst whereof is a fountain casting up the water, and spouting it out of at least a dozen pipes, which fill two ponds full of fishes, and with this their constant running give musicke to the whole Cloister, and encouragement to many water-fowles and Ducks to bath and wash themselves therein. Yet further within the Cloister, there are other two gardens for fruits and herbage, and in the one a pond of a quarter of a mile long, all paved at the bottom, and a low stone wall about, where is a boat for the Fryers recreation, who often goe thither to fish, and do sometimes upon a suddain want or occasion take out from thence as much fish as will give to the whole Cloister a dinner. The other Cloisters of the City are also rich; but next to the Dominicans is the Cloister of Nuns, called the Conception, in which at my time there were judged to live a thousand women, not all Nuns, but Nuns, and their serving maids or slaves, and young children which were brought up and taught to work by the Nuns. The Nuns that are professed bring with them their portions, five hundred duckats the least, some six hundred, some seven, and some a thousand, which portions after a few years (and continuing to the Cloister after the Nuns decease) come to make up a great yearly rent. They that will have maids within to wait on them may, bringing the bigger portion, or allowing yearly for their servants diet. In this Cloister lived that *Donna Juana de Maldonado* Judge *Juan Maldonado de Paz* his daughter. whom the Bishop so much conversed withall. She was very fair and beautifull, and not much above twenty years of age; and yet his love blinding him, he strove what he could in my time against all the ancient Nuns and Sisters, to make her Superiour and Abbesse; and caused such a mutiny and strife in that Cloister, which was very scandalous to the whole City, and made many rich Merchants and Gentlemen run to the Cloister with their swords drawne, threatning to break in amongst the Nuns to defend their daughters against the powerfull faction which the Bishop had wrought for *Donna Juana de Maldonado*: which they had performed if the President *Don Juan de Guzman* had not sent *Juan Maldonado de Paz*, the yong Nuns father, to intreat her to desist in regard

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of her yong age from her ambitious thoughts of being Abbesse. With this the mutiny both within and without ceased, the Bishop got but shame, and his young sister continued as before under command and obedience, to a more religious, grave, and aged Nun then her self. This *Donna Juana de Maldonado y Paz* was the wonder of all that Cloister, yea of all the City for her excellent voice, and skill in musick, and in carriage, and education yeelded to none abroad nor within; she was witty, well spoken and above all a *Calliope*, or Muse for ingenious and suddain verses; which the Bishop said, so much moved him to delight in her company and conversation. Her Father thought nothing too good, nor too much for her; and therefore having no other children, he dayly conferred upon her riches, as might best beseem a Nun, as rich and costly Cabinets faced with gold and silver, pictures and Idols for her chamber with crowns and jewels to adorn them; which with other presents from the Bishop (who dying in my time left not wherewith to pay his debts, for that as the report went, he had spent himself and given all unto this Nun) made this *Donna Juana de Maldonado* so rich and stately, that at her own charges she built for herself a new quarter within the Cloister with rooms and galleries, and a private garden walke, and kept at worke and to wait on her half a dozen *Black-more* maids; but above all she placed her delight in a private chappell or Closet to pray in, being hung with rich hangings, and round about it costly lamina's (as they call them) or pictures painted upon brasse set in black Ebony frames with corners of gold, some of silver brought to her from *Rome*; her Altar was accordingly decked with Jewels, Candlesticks, Crownes, Lamps, and covered with a Canopie embroidered with gold; in her Closet she had her small organ, and many sorts of musicall instruments, whereupon she played sometimes by herself, sometimes with her best friends of the Nuns; and here especially she entertained with musick her beloved the Bishop. Her Chappel or place of devotion was credibly reported about the City to be worth at least six thousand crowns which was enough for a Nun that had vowed chastity, poverty, and obedience. But all this after her decease she was to leave to the Cloister; and doubtlesse with this State, and riches she would win more and more the hearts of the common sort of Nuns, till she had made a strong party, which by this may have made her Abbesse. Thus is ambition and desire of command and power crept into the walls of Nunneries, like the abominations in the wall of *Ezekiel*, and hath possessed the hearts of Nuns, which should be humble, poor, and mortified Virgins.

But besides this one Nun, there are more, and also Fryers, who are very rich, for if the City be rich (as is this) and great trading in it, they will be sure to have a share. Great plenty and wealth hath made the inhabitants as proud and vicious, as are those of *Mexico*. Here is not only Idolatry, but Fornication and uncleanesse as publick as in any place of the *India's*: The *Mulatta's*, *Black-mores*, *Mestica's*, *Indians*, and all common sort of people are much made on by the greater and richer sort, and go as gallantly apparrelled as do those of *Mexico*, fearing neither a Vulcan, or mountain of water on the one side, which they confesse hath once powred out a flood and river executing Gods wrath against sin there committed; neither a Vulcan of fire, or mouth of hell on the other side, roaring within and threatning to rain upon them *Sodomes* ruine and destruction; neither the weakenesse of their habitation; lying wide open on every side, without wals, or workes, or bulwarkes, to defend them, or without guns, drakes, bullets, or any Ammunition to scare away an approaching enemy, who may safely come and without resistance upon them who live as professed enemies of Jesus Christ. This is the City of St. *James* or *Santjago de Guatemala*, the head of a vaste and ample Dominion, which extendeth it self nine hundred miles to *Nicoya* and *Costa Rica* South-ward; three hundred miles to *Chiapa* and *Zoques* North-ward; a hundred and fourscore miles to the further parts of *Vera Paz*, and the *Golfo dulce* East-ward; and to the South-sea twenty or thirty, in some places forty miles West-ward.

From *Tepoantepeque* (which is no harbour for any great ships) which standeth from *Guatemala* at least four hundred miles, there is no landing place for ships neerer to this City then is the village *de la Trinidad*, or of the Trinity. The chief commodities which from along that coast are brought to *Guatemala*, are from the Provinces of *Soconuzco* and *Suchutepeques*, which are extream hot, and subject to thunder and lightning, where groweth scarce any remarkeable commodity, save only *Cacao*, *Achiotte*, *Mecasuchil*,

Mechaſuchil, *Bainillas* and other drugs for Chocolatte, except it be ſome *Indigo* and *Cochinil* about St. *Antonio*, which is the chief and head Town of all the *Suchetepeques*. But all the coaſt neer joyning to *Guatemala*, eſpecially about a Town called *Izquinta*, or *Izquintepeque* twelve leagues from *Guatemala*, is abſolutely the richeſt part of the Dominion of this City; for there is made the greateſt part of the *Indigo* which is ſent from *Honduras* to *Spain*; beſides the mighty farmes of Cattell which are all along that marſh. Though the living there be profitable and the ſoil rich, yet it is uncomfortable by reaſon of the great heat, thundrings and lightnings, eſpecially from *May* to *Michaelmas*. If *Guatemala* be ſtrong (though not in Weapons or Ammunition) in people, it is ſtrong from hence from a deſperate ſort of *Black-mores*, who are ſlaves in thoſe Eſtancia's and farms of *Indigo*. Though they have no weapons but a *Machette*, which is a ſhort Tuck, or lances to run at the wilde Cattell, yet with theſe they are ſo deſperate, that the City of *Guatemala* hath often been afraid of them, and the Maſters of their own ſlaves and ſervants. Some of them fear not to encounter a Bull though wild and mad, and to graple in the rivers (which are many there) with Crocodiles, or Lagarto's, as there they call them, till they have overmaſtered them, and brought them out to land from the water.

This hot, but rich Countrey runs on by the Sea ſide unto the Village of the Trinity, which (though ſomewhat dangerous) yet is a haven for ſhips from *Panama*, *Peru*, and *Mexico*; It ſerves to enrich *Guatemala*, but not to ſtrengthen it, for it hath neither fort, nor bulwarke, nor Caſtle, nor any Ammunition to defend it ſelf. Between this Village and the other Haven called *Realejo*, there is a great Creek from the Sea; where ſmall veſſels do uſe to come in for freſh water and Victuals to St. *Miguel* a Town of *Spaniards* and *Indians*, from whence thoſe that travaile to *Realejo* paſſe over in leſſe then a day to a Town of *Indians* called *La Vieja*, two miles from *Realejo*, whither the journey by land from St. *Miguel* is of at leaſt three dayes. But neither this Creek or Arme of the Sea is fortified (which might be done with one or two pieces of Ordinance at moſt placed at the mouth of the ſeas entrance) neither is the *Realejo* ſtrong with any Ammunition, no nor with people, for it conſiſts not of above two hundred families, and moſt of them are *Indians* and *Meſtico's*, a people of no courage, and very unfit to defend ſuch an open paſſage to *Guatemala* and *Nicaragua*, which here begins and continues in ſmall and petty *Indian* Towns unto *Leon* and *Granada*.

On the North ſide of *Guatemala* I ſhall not need to add to what hath been ſaid of *Suchutepeques* and *Soconuzco*, and my journey that way from *Mexico* and *Chiapa*. The chief ſide of *Guatemala* is that on the Eaſt, which points out the way to the Golfe, or *Golfe dulce*, or as others call it St. *Thomas de Caſtilia*. This way is more beaten by Mules and Travellers, then that on the North ſide, for that *Mexico* ſtandeth three hundred leagues from this City, and the Golfe but threeſcore, and no ſuch paſſages as are in ſome places in the Rode to *Mexico*. Beſides the great trading, commerce, and traffique, which this City injoyeth by that Golfe from *Spain*, hath made that Rode exceed all the reſt. In *July* or at fartheſt in the beginning of *Auguſt* come into that Golfe three ſhips, or two, and frigate, and unlade what they have brought from *Spain* in *Bodega's* or great Lodges, built on purpoſe to keep dry and from the weather the commodities. They preſently make haſt to lade again from *Guatemala* thoſe Merchants commodities of return, which peradventure have lien waiting for them in the *Bodega's* two or three moneths before the ſhips arrivall. So that theſe three moneths of *July*, *Auguſt* and *September*, there is ſure to be found a great treaſure. And O the ſimplicity or ſecurity of the *Spaniards*, who appoint no other watch over theſe their riches, ſave only one or two *Indians* and as many *Mulatto's*, who commonly are ſuch as have for their miſdemenours been condemned to live in that old and ruinated Caſtle of St. *Thomas de Caſtilia*! True it is, above it there is a little and ragged Town of *Indians*, called St. *Pedro*, conſiſting of ſome thirty families, who by reaſon of the exceeding heat, and unhealthineſſe of the air, are alwayes ſickly and ſcarce able to ſtand upon their legs. But the weakneſſe of this Golfe within might well be remedied and ſupplyed at the mouth of the Sea, or entrance into it by one or two at the moſt good pieces of Ordinance placed there. For the entrance into this Golfe is but as one ſhould come in at the door of ſome great Palace, where although the dore and entrance be narrow, the houſe within is wide and capacious. Such is this Golfe, whoſe entrance is ſtraitned with two rocks or mountains on each ſide (which would well become two great Pieces,

and

and ſo ſcorne a whole fleet, and ſecure a Kingdome of *Guatemala*, nay moſt of all *America*) but here being no watch nor defence, the ſhips come freely and ſafely in (as have done ſome both *Engliſh* and *Holland* ſhips) and being entred find a rode and harbour ſo wide and capacious as may well ſecure a thouſand ſhips there riding at anchor, without any thought of fear from St. *Pedro*, or *Santo Thomas de Caſtilia*. I have often heard the *Spaniards* jear and laugh at the *Engliſh* and *Hollanders*, for that they having come into this Golfe, have gone away without attempting any thing further upon the land. Nay while I lived there, the *Hollanders* ſet upon *Truxillo* the head Port of *Comayagua* and *Honduras*, and took it (though there were ſome reſiſtance) the people for the moſt part flying to the woods, truſting more to their feet then to their hands and weapons (ſuch cowards is all that Countrey full of) and whilſt they might have fortified themſelves there, and gone into the Countrey, or fortifying that have come on to the Golfe (all *Guatemala* fearing it much and not being able to reſiſt them) they left *Truxillo*, contenting themſelves with a ſmall pillage, and gave occaſion to the *Spaniards* to rejoyce and to make proceſſions of thankſgiving for their ſafe deliverance out of their enemies hands.

The way from this Golfe to *Guatemala* is not ſo bad as ſome report and conceive, eſpecially after *Michaelmas* untill *May*, when the winter and rain is paſt and gone, and the winds begin to dry up the wayes, For in the worſt of the year Mules laden with four hundred waight at leaſt go eaſily thorow the ſteepeſt, deepeſt, and moſt dangerous paſſages of the Mountains that lie about this Golf. And though the wayes are at that time of the year bad, yet they are ſo beaten with the Mules, and ſo wide and open, that one bad ſtep and paſſage may be avoided for a better; and the worſt of this way continues but fifteen leagues, there being Rancho's or Lodges in the way, Cattell and Mules alſo among the Woods and Mountains, for relief and comfort to a weary Traveller. What the *Spaniards* moſt fear untill they come out of theſe Mountains, are ſome two or three hundred *Black-mores*, *Simarrones*, who for too much hard uſage, have fled away from *Guatemala* and other parts from their Maſters unto theſe woods, and there live and bring up their children and encreaſe dayly, ſo that all the power of *Guatemala*, nay all the Countrey about (having often attempted it) is not able to bring them under ſubjection. Theſe often come out to the rode way, and ſet upon the Requa's of Mules, and take of Wine, Iron, Clothing and Weapons from them as much as they need, without doing any harme unto the people, or ſlaves that go with the Mules; but rather theſe rejoyce with them, being of one colour, and ſubject to ſlavery and miſery which the others have ſhaken off; by whoſe example and encouragement many of theſe ſhake off their miſery, and joyne with them to enjoy liberty, though it be but in the Woods and Mountains. Their weapons are bowes and arrowes which they uſe and carry about them, only to defend themſelves, if the *Spaniards* ſet upon them; elſe they uſe them not againſt the *Spaniards*, who travell quietly and give them part of what proviſion they carry. Theſe have often ſaid that the chief cauſe of their flying to thoſe mountains is to be in a readineſſe to joyne with the *Engliſh* or *Hollanders*, if ever they land in that Golfe; for they know, from them they may injoy that liberty which the *Spaniards* will never grant unto them. After the firſt fifteen leagues the way is better, and there are little Towns and villages of *Indians*, who relieve with proviſion both man and beaſt. Fifteen leagues further is a great Town of *Indians*, called *Acaſabaſtlan*, ſtanding upon a river, which for fiſh is held the beſt in all that Countrey. Though there are many ſorts, yet above all there is one which they call Bobo, a thick-round fiſh as long or longer then a mans arme, with only a middle bone, as white as milke, as fat as butter, and good to boil, fry, ſtew or bake. There is alſo from hence moſt of the way to *Guatemala* in brooks and ſhallow rivers, one of the beſt ſort of fiſhes in the world, which the *Spaniards* judge to be a kind of Trout, it is called there Tepemechin, the fat whereof reſembles veal more then fiſh.

This Town of *Acaſabaſtlan* is governed by a *Spaniard* who is called Corrigidor; his power extendeth no further then to the Golfe, and to thoſe Towns in the way. This Governour hath often attempted to bring in thoſe *Simarrones* from the mountains, but could never prevaile againſt them. All the ſtrength of this place may be ſome twenty muskets (for ſo many *Spaniſh* houſes there may be in the Town) and ſome few *Indians* that uſe bowes and arrowes, for the defence of the Town againſt the *Black-more Simarrones*.

About

About *Acacabaſtlan*, there are many Eſtancia's of Cattell and Mules, much Cacao, Achiotte, and drugs for Chocolatte; There is alſo Apothecary drugs, as *Zarzaparilla*, and *Canna fiſtula*, and in the Town as much variety of fruits and gardens, as in any one *Indian* Town in the Countrey; But above all *Acacabaſtlan* is far known, and much eſteemed of in the City of *Guatemala*, for excellent Muskmillians, ſome ſmall, ſome bigger then a mans head, wherewith the *Indians* load their mules and carry them to ſell all over the Countrey. From hence to *Guatemala*, there are but thirty ſhort leagues, and though ſome hils there be, aſcents and deſcents, yet nothing troubleſome to man or beaſt. Among theſe Mountains there have been diſcovered ſome mines of metall, which the *Spaniards* have begun to digge, and finding that they have been ſome of Copper, and ſome of Iron, they have let them alone, judging them more chargeable then profitable. But greater profit have the *Spaniards* loſt, then of Iron and Copper, for uſing the poor *Indians* too hardly, and that in this way, from *Acacabaſtlan* to *Guatemala*, eſpecially about a place called, *el Ague Caliente* the hot water, where is a River, out of which in ſome places formerly the *Indians* found ſuch ſtore of gold, that they were charged by the *Spaniards* with a yearly tribute of gold. But the *Spaniards* being like *Valdivia* in *Chille*, too greedy after it, murthering the *Indians* for not diſcovering unto them whereabout this treaſure lay, have loſt both treaſure and *Indians* alſo. Yet unto this day ſearch is made about the Mountains, the River, and the ſands for the hidden treaſure, which peradventure by Gods order and appointment, doth and ſhall lie hid, and be kept for a people better knowing and honouring their God. At this place called *el Ague Caliente*, or the hot water, liveth a Blackmore in an Eſtancia of his own, who is held to be very rich, and gives good etertainment to the Travellers that paſſe that way; he is rich in Cattell, Sheep, and Goats, and from his Farm ſtores *Guatemala* and the people thereabout with the beſt Cheeſe of all that Countrey. But his riches are thought not ſo much to increaſe from his Farm and cheeſes, but from this hidden treaſure, which credibly is reported to be known unto him. He hath been queſtioned about it in the Chancery of *Guatemala*, but hath denyed often any ſuch treaſure to be known unto him. The jealouſie and ſuſpicion of him, is, for that formerly having been a ſlave, he bought his freedome with great ſummes of money, and ſince he hath been free, hath bought that farm and much land lying to it, and hath exceedingly increaſed his ſtock; To which he anſwereth, that when he was young and a ſlave, he had a good Maſter, who let him get for himſelf what he could, and that he playing the good husband, gathered as much as would buy his liberty, and at firſt a little houſe to live in, to the which God hath ſince given a bleſſing with a greater increaſe of ſtock. From this hot water three or four leagues, there is another River called, *Rio de las Vaccas*, or the River of *Cowes*, where are a company of poor and Country people moſt of them Meſtizo's, and Mulatto's, who live in thatched houſes, with ſome ſmall ſtock of Cattell, ſpending their time alſo in ſearching for ſands of Gold, hoping that one day by their diligent ſearch they and their children, and all their Countrey ſhall be inriched, and that *Rio de las Vaccas*, ſhall parallel *Pactolus*, and ſtirre up the wits of Poets to ſpeak of it as much as ever they have ſpoke of that. From this River is preſently diſcovered the pleaſanteſt valley in all that Countrey, (where my ſelf did live at leaſt five years) called the Valley of *Mixco*, and *Pinola*, lying ſix leagues from *Guatemala*, being fifteen miles in length, and ten or twelve in breadth; Out of the incloſures this Valley is ſtored with ſheep; the ground incloſed is divided into many Farmes, where groweth better wheat then any in the Countrey of *Mexico*. From this Valley the City is well provided of wheat, and Bisket is made for the ſhips that come every year unto the Golf. It is called the Valley of *Mixco*, and *Pinola* from two Townes of *Indians*, ſo called, ſtanding oppoſite the one to the other on each ſide of the Valley, *Pinola*, on the left ſide from *Rio de las Vaccas*, and *Mixco* on the right. Here do live many rich Farmers, but yet Country and clowniſh people, who know more of breaking clods of earth, then of managing Armes offenſive or defenſive. But among them I muſt not forget one friend of mine, called *Juan Palomeque*, whom I ſhould have more eſteemed of then I did if I could have prevailed with him to have made him live more like a man then a beaſt, more like a free man then a bond ſlave to his gold and ſilver. This man had in my time three hundred luſty mules trained up in the way of the Golf, which he divided into ſix Requa's, or companies; and for them he kept above a hundred *Black-more* ſlaves, men, women, and

and children, who lived neer *Mixco* in severall thatched cottages. The house he lived in himself was but a poor thatched house, wherein he took more delight to live then in other houses which he had in *Guatemala*, for there he lived like a wilde *Simarron* among his slaves and *Black-mores*, whereas in the City he should have lived civilly; there he lived with milke, curds, and black, hard and mouldy bisket, and with dry tassajo, which is dry salted beef cut out in thin slices and dryed in the sun and wind, till there be little substance left in it, such as his slaves were wont to carry to the Golfe for their provision by the way, whereas if he had lived in the City, he must have eat for his credit what others of worth did eat. But the miser knew well, which was the best way to save, and so chose a field for a City, a cottage for a house, company of *Simarrones* and *Black-mores* for Citizens, and yet he was thought to be worth six hundred thousand duckats. He was the undoer of all others who dealed with Mules for bringing and carying commodities to the Golfe for the Merchants; for he having lusty Mules, lusty slaves, would set the price or rate for the hundred weight so, as he might get, but others at that rate hiring *Indians* and servants to goe with their Mules, might lose. He was so cruell to his *Black-mores*, that if any were untoward, he would torment them almost to death; amongst whom he had one slave called *Macaco* (for whom I have often interceded, but to little purpose) whom he would often hang up by the armes, and whip him till the bloud ran about his back, and then his flesh being torne, mangled, and all in a goar bloud, he would for last cure powre boyling grease upon it; he had marked him for a slave with burning irons upon his face, his hands, his armes, his back, his belly, his thighes, his legs, that the poor slave was weary of life, and I think would two or three times have hanged himselfe, if I had not counselled him to the contrary. He was so sensuall and carnall that he would use his own slaves wives at his pleasure; nay when he met in the City any of that kind handsome and to his liking, if she would not yeeld to his desire, he would go to her master or mistresse, and buy her, offering far more then she was worth, boasting that he would pull down her proud and haughty lookes, with one years slavery under him. He killed in my time two *Indians* in the way to the Golfe, and with his mony came off, as if he had killed but a dog. He would never marry, because his slaves supplyed the bed of a wife, and none of his neighbours durst say him nay; wherby he hasted to fill that valley with bastards of all sorts and colours, by whom, when that rich miser dieth, all his wealth and treasure is like to be consumed.

Besides the two Townes which denominate this valley, there standeth at the East end of it close by the *Rio de las Vaccas* an Ermitage, called *Nostra Sennora del Carmel*, or our Lady of *Carmel*, which is the Parish Church to all those severall farmes of *Spaniards* living in the valley; though true it is, most constantly they do resort unto the *Indian* Towns to Masse, and in *Mixco* especially, the *Spaniards* have a rich sodality of our Lady of the Rosary, and the *Black-mores* another. In all the valley there may be between forty and fifty *Spanish* farmes or houses belonging to the Ermitage, and in all these houses, some three hundred slaves, men and women, *Black-mores* and *Mulatto's*. *Mixco* is a Town of three hundred families, but in it nothing considerable, but the riches belonging unto the two forenamed Sodalities, and some rich *Indians*, who have learned of the *Spaniards* to break clods of earth, and to sow wheat, and to traffique with Mules unto the Golfe. Besides what fowles and great store of Turkeys which in this Town are bred, there is a constant slaughter house, where meat is sold to the *Indians* within, and to the farmes without, and provision is made for all the Requa's and slaves that go to the Golfe with their Masters Mules. Besides the six Requa's before named of *Juan Palomeque*, there are in this valley four brothers, named *Don Gaspar*, *Don Diego*, *Don Thomas*, *Don Juan de Colindres*, who have each of them a Requa of threescore Mules (though few slaves, and only hired *Indians* to go with them) to traffique to the Golfe, and over all the Country as far as *Mexico* sometimes. Yet besides these there are some six more Requa's belonging to other farmes, which with those of the Town of *Mixco* may make up full twenty Requa's; and those twenty Requa's contain above a thousand Mules, which only from this valley are imployed to all parts of the Countrey by the rich Merchants of *Guatemala*. But to return again to the Town of *Mixco*, the constant passage thorow it of these Requa's, of rich Merchants, of all passengers that go and come from *Spain*, hath made it very rich; where-

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as in the Town it ſelf there is no other commodity, except it be a kind of earth, whereof are made rare and excellent pots for water, pans, pipkins, platters, diſhes, chafing-diſhes, warming-pans, wherein thoſe *Indians* ſhew much wit, and paint them with red, white, and ſeverall mingled colours, and ſell them to *Guatemala*, and the Towns about, which ſome Criolian women will eat by full mouth-fuls, endangering their health and lives, ſo that by this earthly ware they may look white and pale. The Town of *Pinola* in bigneſſe is much like unto *Mixco*, but a far pleaſanter Town, more healthy and better ſeated, ſtanding upon a plain, whereas *Mixco* ſtands on the ſide of a hill, which carryeth the Travellers quite out of the ſight of the valley. In *Pinola* there is alſo a ſlaughter houſe, where Beef is dayly ſold, there is plenty of fowles, Fruits, Maiz, Wheat, (though not altogether ſo bright as that of *Mixco*) hony, and the beſt water thereabout; it is called in the *Indian* tongue *Panac*, (ſome ſay) from a fruit of that name which is very abundant there. On the North and South ſide of this valley are hils, which are moſt ſown with wheat, which proveth better there then in the low valley. At the Weſt end of it, ſtand two greater Towns then *Mixco* and *Pinola*, named *Petapa*, and *Amatitlan*, to the which there are in the midſt of the valley ſome deſcents and aſcents, which they call Baranca's or bottomes, where are pleaſant ſtreams and fountains, and good feeding for ſheep, and Cattell.

Petapa is a Town of at leaſt five hundred inhabitants very rich, who ſuffer alſo ſome *Spaniards* to dwell amongſt them, from whom alſo thoſe *Indians* have learned to live and thrive in the world. This Town is the paſſage from *Comayagua*, St. *Salvador*, *Nicaragua*, and *Coſta Rica*, and hath got great wealth by the conſtant goers and comers. It is eſteemed one of the pleaſanteſt Towns belonging unto *Guatemala*, for a great Lake of freſh water neer unto it, which is full of fiſh, eſpecially Crabs, and a fiſh called, Mojarra, which is much like unto a Mullet (though not altogether ſo big) and eateth like it. In this Town there is a certain number of *Indians* appointed, who are to fiſh for the City, and on Wedneſdayes, Fridayes, and Saturdayes, are bound to carry ſuch a quantity to *Guatemala*, of Crabs and Mojarra's, as the Corregidor and Regidores, Maior and Aldermen (who are but eight) ſhall command weekly to be brought.

This Town *Petapa* is ſo called from two *Indian* words, *Petap*, which ſignifieth a Mat, and *ha*, which ſignifieth water, and a Mat being the chief part of an *Indians* bed, it is as much as to ſay a bed of water, from the ſmoothneſſe, plainneſſe, and calmneſſe of the water of the Lake. There liveth in it a principall family of *Indians*, who are ſaid to deſcend from the ancient Kings of thoſe parts, and now by the *Spaniards* are graced with the noble name of *Guzman*; out of this family is choſen one to be Governour of the Town with ſubordination unto the City and Chancery of *Guatemala*. *Don Bernabe de Guzman* was Governour in my time, and had been many years before, and governed very wiſely and diſcreetly, till with old age he came to loſe his ſight; and in his place entred his ſon *Don Pedro de Guzman*, of whom the reſt of the *Indians* ſtood in great awe, as formerly they had to his Father. Had not theſe *Indians* been given to drunkenneſſe (as moſt *Indians* are) they might have governed a Town of *Spaniards*. This Governour hath many priviledges granted unto him (though none to wear a ſword, or rapier, as may the Governour of *Chiapa* of the *Indians*) and appoints by turnes ſome of the Town to wait and attend on him at dinner and ſupper, others to look to his Horſes, others to fiſh for him, others to bring him wood for his houſe ſpending, others to bring him meat for his Horſes; and yet after all this his attendance, he attends and waits on the Fryer that lives in the Town, and doth nothing concerning the governing of the Town and executing of juſtice, but what the Fryer alloweth and adviſeth to be done. There is alſo great ſervice appointed for this Fryer, of Fiſhermen, and other attendants in his houſe, who liveth as ſtately as any Biſhop. Moſt trades belonging to a well ſetled Common-wealth are here exerciſed by theſe *Indians*. As for herbage, and garden-fruits, and requiſites, it hath whatſoever may be found, or deſired in the City of *Guatemala*. The Church treaſure is very great, there being many Sodalities of our Lady and other their Saints, which are enriched with crowns, and chains, and bracelets, beſides the lamps, cenſers, and ſilver candleſticks belonging unto the Altars. Upon *Michaelmas* day is the chief fair and feaſt of the Town, which is dedicated unto St. *Michael*, whither many Merchants reſort from *Guatemala* to buy and ſell; in the afternoon, and the next day following, Bull-baiting is the

common ſport for that feaſt with ſome *Spaniards* and *Black-mores* on Horſe-backe, and other *Indians* on foot, who commonly being drunk, ſome venture, ſome loſe their lives in the ſport. Beſides this generall concourſe of people every year at that time, there is every day at five a clock in the afternoon a Tianguez or market, upheld by the concourſe of the *Indians* of the Town among themſelves. Beſides the lake, there runneth by this Town a river, which in places is eaſily waded over, and waters the fruits, gardens, and other plantations, and drives a mill which ſerves moſt of the valley to grind their wheat. Within a mile and a half of this Town there is a rich Ingenio or farme of Sugar belonging to one *Sabaſtian de Savaletta*, a *Biſcaine* borne, who came at firſt very poor into that Countrey, and ſerved one of his Countrey men; but with his good induſtry and pains, he began to get a Mule or two to traffique with about the Countrey, till at laſt he increaſed his ſtock to a whole Requa of Mules, and from thence grew ſo rich that he bought much land about *Petapa*, which he found to be very fit for Sugar, and from thence was incouraged to build a princely houſe, whither the beſt of *Guatemala* do reſort for their recreation. This man maketh a great deal of Sugar for the Countrey, and ſends every year much to *Spain*; he keepeth at leaſt threeſcore ſlaves of his own for the work of his farme, is very generous in houſe keeping, and is thought to be worth above five hundred thouſand Duckats. Within halfe a mile from him there is another farme of Sugar, which is called but a *Trapiche* belonging unto the Auguſtin Fryers of *Guatemala*, which keeps ſome twenty ſlaves, and is called a *Trapiche*, for that it grinds not the Sugar Cane with that device of the Ingenio, but grinds a leſſe quantity, and ſo makes not ſo much Sugar as doth an Ingenio. From hence three miles is the Town of *Amatitlan*, neer unto which ſtandeth a greater Ingenio of Sugar, then is that of *Savaletta*, and is called the Ingenio of one *Anis*, becauſe he firſt founded it, but now it belongeth unto one *Pedro Creſpo* the Poſtmaſter of *Guatemala*; this Ingenio ſeemeth to be a little Town by it ſelf for the many cottages and thatched houſes of *Black-more* ſlaves which belong unto it, who may be above a hundred, men, women, and children. The chief dwelling houſe is ſtrong and capacious, and able to entertain a hundred lodgers. Theſe three farmes of Sugar ſtanding ſo neer unto *Guatemala*, enrich the City much, and occaſion great trading from it to *Spain*. The Town of *Amatitlan*, though in it there live not ſo many *Spaniards* as in *Petapa*, yet there are in it more *Indian* families then in *Petapa*. The ſtreets are more orderly made and framed like a Chequer board, they are wide, broad, plain, and all upon duſt and ſand. This Town alſo enjoyeth the commodity of the lake, and furniſheth with fiſh the City of *Guatemala*, upon thoſe dayes before named of *Petapa*. And though it ſtandeth out of the rode-way, yet it is almoſt as rich as *Petapa*. For the *Indians* of it get much by the concourſe of common people, and the Gentry of *Guatemala*, who reſort thither to certain bathes of hot waters, which are judged and approved very wholeſome for the body. This Town alſo getteth much by the ſalt which here is made, or rather gathered by the lake ſide, which every morning appeareth like a hoary froſt upon the ground, and is taken up and purified by the *Indians*, and proves very white and good. Beſides what they get by the ſalt, they get alſo by the Requa's of Mules in the valley, and about the Countrey, which are brought to feed upon that ſalt earth a day, or half a day, untill they be ready to burſt (the owner paying ſix pence a day for every Mule) and it hath been found by experience, that this makes them thrive and grow luſty, and purgeth them better then any drench, or blood-letting. They have further great trading in Cotton-wool, more abundance of fruits then *Petapa*, a fairer market place with two extraordinary great Elm-trees, under which the *Indians* daily meet at evening to buy and ſell. The Church of this Town is as fair and beautifull as any about *Guatemala*, the riches and ſtate whereof hath cauſed the Dominican Fryers ſince the year 1635, to make that place the head and Priory over the other Towns of the valley, and to build there a goodly and ſumptuous Cloiſter, in which in my time there was (for I told then moſt of it, and doubtleſſe ſince it hath much increaſed) eight thouſand Duckats laid up in a cheſt, with three lockes for the common expences of the Cloiſter. Thus my Reader, I have led thee through the valley of *Mixco*, and *Pinola*, *Petapa* and *Amititlan*, which in riches and wealth, what with the great trading in it, what with the ſheep and cattell, what with the abundance of mules, what with three Farmes of Sugar, what with the great Farmes of Corn and Wheat, what with the Churches treaſures yeelds to no other place belonging unto the dominions

of

of *Guatemala*. I may not forget yet a double wheat harveſt (as I may well term it) in this Vally. The firſt being of a little kinde of Wheat, which they call *Trigo Tremeſino*, a word compounded in *Spaniſh* from theſe two words, *tres meſes*, or from the Latine *tres menſes*) which after three months ſowing is ripe and ready to be cut down, and being ſowed about the end of *Auguſt*, is commonly harveſted in about the end of *November*, and although in the ſmalneſſe of it, it ſeems to have but a little Flower, yet it yeelds as much as their other ſorts of Wheat, and makes as white bread, though it keep not ſo well as that which is made of other Wheat, but ſoon groweth ſtale and hard. The other harveſt (which is of two ſorts of Wheat, one called *Rubio* or red Wheat, the other called *Blanquilleo*, or white like *Candia* Wheat) followeth ſoon after this firſt of *Tremeſino*, for preſently after Chriſtmas every one begins to bring their ſickles into the field, where they do not only reap down their Wheat, but inſtead of threſhing it in barnes, they cauſe it to be trod by Mares incloſed within floores made on purpoſe in the fields; and when the Wheat is trod out of the Eares by the Mares trampling, who are whipped round about the floores that they may not ſtand ſtill, but tread it conſtantly and throughly; then the Mares being let out of the floores, the Wheat is winnowed from the chaffe, and put up clean into ſacks, and from the field carried to the Barnes; but the chaffe and moſt of the ſtraw is left to rot in the fields, which they eſteem as good as dunging; and further ſet all the fields on fire, burning the ſtubble that is left a little before the time of the firſt ſhowers of rain, which with the aſhes left after the burninig fatteth the ground, and by them is held the beſt way to huſband or dung their ground. Others that will ſow a new and woody piece of land, cauſe the trees though timber trees to be cut down, and ſell not a ſtick of that wood, (which there is ſo plentifull, that they judge it would not quit their coſt to carry it to *Guatemala*, though in *England* it would yeeld thouſand pounds) but they let it lie and dry, and before the winter rain begins, they ſet on fire all the field, and burn that rich timber, with the aſhes whereof that ground becomes ſo fat and fertile, that where upon an Aker we ſow here three buſhels of Wheat, or upwards, they ſow ſuch ground ſo thin, that they ſcarce dare venture a full buſhell upon an Aker, leſt with too much ſpeading upon the ground it grow too thick, be lodged, and they loſe their crop. The like they do unto the paſture of the Valley, about the end of *March*, it is ſhort and withered and dry, and they alſo ſet it on fire, wich being burnt cauſeth a diſmall ſight, and proſpect of a black valley; but after the firſt two or three ſhowres, it puts on again its green and pleaſant garment, inviting the Cattell, Sheep, Lambs, Goats, and Kids, (which for a while were driven away to other paſturing) to return and ſport again, to feed and reſt in its new flouriſhing boſome. But now it is time, I return again back to the other end of this valley, to the *Rio de las Vacas* (from whence I have viewed the compaſſe of it, and made my long digreſſion from Eaſt to Weſt, to the fartheſt Town of *Amatitlan*) to ſhew thee, my Reader, the little part of thy way remaining unto *Guatemala*. True it is, from the Ermitage of our Lady, there is a ſtreight way through the middle of the valley leading almoſt to *Amatitlan*, and then turning up a hill out of the valley on the right hand; But that hath many aſcents and deſcents, bottomes, falls and riſings, and therefore is not the conſtant Rode, which from the Ermitage pointeth on the right hand, obſerving the Town of *Mixco*, ſtanding but five miles from *Guatemala*, from *Mixco* the way lyeth up a hill, and leadeth to a Town ſomewhat bigger then *Mixco*, of *Indians*, called *San Lucas*, or St. *Luke*, a cold Town, but exceeding rich; the temper and coldneſſe of it, hath made it the ſtorehouſe, or Granary for all the City; for whereas below in the Valley, the Wheat will not keep long without muſting, and breeding a worm called *Gurgojo*, ſuch is the temper of this Town of St. *Luke*, that in it the Weat will keep two or three years ready threſhed, with a little turning now and then; and as it lyeth will give and yeeld, (as experience taught me there) ſo that he that hath laid up in that Town two hundred buſhels of Wheat, at the years end ſhall find neer upon two hundred and twenty buſhels. This Town therefore receives from the Valley moſt of the harveſt, and is full of what we call Barnes, but there are called *Trojas*, without floores, but raiſed up with ſtackes and bords a foot or two from the ground, and covered with mats, whereon is laid the Wheat, and by ſome rich Monopoliſts from the City is kept and hoarded two and three years, untill they find their beſt opportunity to bring it out to ſale, at the rate of their own will and pleaſure. From hence to

Guatemala there is but three little leagues, and one only *Barauca* or bottome, and on every ſide of the way little petty Towns, which they call *Milpas*, conſiſting of ſome twenty Cottages. In the middle of the way is the top of a hill, which diſcovereth all the City, and ſtandeth as overmaſtring of it, as if with a piece or two of Ordinance it would keep all *Guatemala* in awe; But beſides this hill, which is the wide and open Rode, there ſtand yet forwarder on the right and left hand other mountains which draw neerer to the City, and what this top peradventure with too much diſtance, is not able to do or reach, the others certainly would reach with Canon ſhot, and command that far commanding City. Down this hill the way lies broad and wide, and as open as is the way down *Barnet* or *Highgate* Hill; and at the bottome it is more ſtraitned between the Mountains, for the ſpace of a bowſhot, which paſſage alſo is craggy by reaſon of ſtones and ſome ſmall pieces of rocks which lie in a brook of water that deſcends from the Mountains, and runs toward the City. But at a little Ermitage called St. *John*, the way opens again it ſelf, and ſheweth *Guatemala*, welcoming the weary travellers with a pleaſant proſpect, and eaſing theirs, or their Mules or Horſes feet, what with green walkes, what with a ſandy and gravelly Rode unto the City, which never ſhut gate againſt any goer or comer, nor forbad their entrance with any fenced wals, or watchmens jealous queſtions; but freely and gladly entertains them either by the back ſide of the Dominicans Cloiſter, or by the Church and Nunnery called the Conception. And thus my Reader, and Countrey man I have brought and guided thee from the Golfe unto *Guatemala*, ſhewing what that way is moſt remarkable. I ſhall not now ſhew thee any more of this Cities Dominions toward *Nicaragua* and the South (having already ſhewed thee the way as far as *Realejo*) leaving that untill I come to tell thee of my journey homewards, which I made that way. There remains yet the Countrey of the *Vera Paz* and the way unto it to diſcover, and ſo to cloſe up this Chapter. The *Vera Paz* is ſo called, for that the *Indians* of that Countrey hearing how the *Spaniards* had conquered *Guatemala*, and did conquer the Countrey round about, whereſoever they came, yeelded themſelves peaceably and without any reſiſtance unto the Government of *Spain*. This Countrey formerly had a Biſhop to it ſelf diſtinct from *Guatemala*, but now is made one Biſhoprick with that. It is governed by an Alcalde Maior, or high Juſtice ſent from *Spain*, with ſubordination unto the Court of *Guatemala*. The head or ſhire Town of it, is called *Coban*, where is a Cloiſter of Dominican Fryers, and the common place of reſidence of the Alcalde Maior. All this Countrey as yet is not ſubdued by the *Spaniards*, who have now and then ſome ſtrong encounters with the barbarous and heathen people, which lie between this Countrey and *Jucatan*; and fain would the *Spaniards* conquer them, that they might make way through them unto a Town called *Campin* belonging to *Jucatan*, and ſettle commerce, and Traffique by land with that Countrey, which is thought would be a great furtherance to the Countrey and City of *Guatemala*, and a ſafer way to convey their goods to the Havana, then by the Golfe, for oftentimes the ſhips that go from the Golfe to the Havana, are met with by the *Hollanders* and ſurpriſed. But as yet the *Spaniards* have not been able to bring to paſſe this their deſign, by reaſon they have found ſtrong reſiſtance from the heatheniſh people, and a hot ſervice to attempt the conquering of them. Yet there was a Fryer a great acquaintance of mine, called Fryer *Franciſco Moran*, who ventured his life among thoſe barbarians, and with two or three *Indians* went on foot through that Countrey, untill he came unto *Campin* where he found a few *Spaniards*, who wondred at his courage and boldneſſe in coming that way. This Fryer came back again to *Coban* and *Vera Paz*, relating how the Barbarians hearing him ſpeak their language, and finding him kind, loving and curteous to them, uſed him alſo kindly, fearing (as he ſaid) that if they ſhould kill him, the *Spaniards* would never let them be at reſt and quiet, untill they had utterly deſtroyed them. He related when he came back, that the Countrey which the Barbarians inhabite, is better then any part of the *Vera Paz*, which is ſubject to the *Spaniards*, and ſpoke much of a Valley, where is a great lake, and about it a Town of *Indians*, which he judged to be of at leaſt twelve thouſand Inhabitants, the Cottages lying in a diſtance one from another. This Fryer hath writ of this Countrey, and hath gone to *Spain* to the Court to motion the conquering of it, for the profit and commodity that may enſue both to *Guatemala* and *Jucatan*, if a way were opened thither. But though as yet on that ſide the *Spaniards* and the

Countrey

Countrey of the *Vera Paz*, be straightned by that heathenish people, yet on the other side it hath free passage unto the Golf, and trade there when the ships do come, carrying Fowles and what other Provision the Countrey will afford for the ships, and bringing from thence wines, and other *Spanish* wares unto *Coban*. This Countrey is very hilly and craggy, and though there be some bigge Towns in it, they are not above three or four that are considerable. The chief commodities are *Achiotte* (which is the best of all the Countrey belonging to *Guatemala*) and *Cacao*, Cotton-wooll, hony, *Canna fistula*, and *Zarzaparilla*, great store of *Maiz*, but no Wheat, much wax, plenty of fowles and birds of all coloured feathers, wherewith the *Indians* make some curious works, but not like unto those of *Mechoacan*. Here are also abundance of Parrets, Apes and Monkies which breed in the Mountains. The way from *Guatemala*, to this Countrey is that which hitherto hath been spoken of from the Golf, as far as the Town of St. *Luke*; and from thence the way keeps on the hils and mountains which lie on the side of the Valley of *Mixco*. These hils are called *Sacatepeques*, (compounded of *Sacate* and *Tepec*, the latter signifying a hill, and the former, herbe or grasse, and thus joyned, they signifie mountains of grasse) and among them are these chief Towns, first *Santjago* or St. *James*, a Town of five hundred Families, secondly, *San Pedro* or St. *Peter*, consisting of six hundred families, thirdly, St. *Juan* or St. *John* consisting also of at least six hundred families, and fourthly, *Sto. Domingo Senaco*, or St. *Dominic* of *Senaco*, being of three hundred families. These four Towns are very rich, and the two last very cold, the two first are warmer; there are about them many farmes of Corn and good Wheat, besides the *Indian Maiz*. These *Indians* are somewhat of more courage then those of other Towns, and in my time were like to rise up against the *Spaniards* for their unmercifull tyranny over them. The Churches are exceeding rich; in the Town of *Santjago*, there was living in my time one *Indian*, who for only vain-glory had bestowed the worth of six thousand Duckats upon that Church, and yet afterwards this wretch was found to be a Wizard and Idolater. These *Indians* get much money by letting out great tuffes of feathers, which the *Indians* use in their dances upon the feasts of the Dedication of their Towns. For some of the great tuffes may have at least threescore long feathers of divers colours, for every feather hiring they have half a Riall, besides what price they set to every feather, if any should chance to be lost. From the Town of St. *John*, which is the furthest, the way lies plain and pleasant unto a little village of some twenty Cottages, called St. *Ramundo* or St. *Raymond*, from whence there is a good dayes journey up and down *Barrancas*, or bottoms unto a *Rancho*, or lodge standing by a River side, which is the same River, that passeth by the Town of *Acacabastlan* spoken of before. From this is an ascent or a very craggy and rocky Mountain, called the Mountain of *Rabinall*, where are steps cut out in the very Rocks for the mules feet, and slipping on one or the other side, they fall surely down the rocks, breaking their neckes, and mangling all their limbs and joynts; but this danger continueth not long nor extendeth above a league and a half, and in the top and worst of this danger, there is the comfort of a goodly valley, called *El Valle de San Nicholas*, St. *Nicholas* his Valley, from an Estantia called St. *Nicholas* belonging to the Dominicans Cloister of *Coban*. This Valley though it must not compare with that of *Mixco* and *Pinola*; yet next after it, it may well take place for only three things considerable in it. The first is an *Ingenio* of Sugar, called *San Geronymo*, or St. *Hierome*, belonging unto the Dominicans Cloister *Guatemala*, which indeed goeth beyond that spoken of *Amatitlan*, both for abundance of Sugar made there, and sent by mules to *Guatemala* over that rocky Mountain, and for multitude of slaves living in it under the command of two Fryers, and for the excellent horses bred there, which are incomparably the best of all the Countrey of *Guatemala* for metle, and gallantry, and therefore (though mules are commonly used for burthens) are much desired and looked after by the Gallants and Gentry of the City, who make it a great part of their honour to prance about the streets. The second thing in this Valley is the Estancia or farm of St. *Nicholas* which is as famous for breeding of mules, as is St. *Hierome* for horses. The third ornament to it is a Town of *Indians*, called *Rabinall*, of at least eight hundred Families, which hath all that heart can wish for pleasure and life of man. It inclineth rather to heat then cold, but the heat is moderate and much qualified with the many cool and shady walkes. There is not any *Indian* fruit, which is not there to be found, besides the fruits of *Spain*, as Oranges, Lemmons, sweet and sowre, Citrons, Pomegranates, Grapes, Figs, Almonds and Dates; the only want of wheat is not a want to them that mind bread of Wheat more then of Maiz, for in two dayes it is easily brought from the Towns of *Sacate-*

peques. For fleſh, it hath Beef, Mutton, Kid, Fowles, Turkies, Quailes, Partridges, Rabbets, Pheaſants; and for fiſh, it hath a River running by the houſes, which yeeldeth plenty both great and ſmall. The *Indians* of this Town are much like unto thoſe of *Chiapa* of the *Indians*, for bravery, for feaſting, for riding of horſes, and ſhewing themſelves in ſports and paſtimes. This Town my friend Fryer *John Baptiſt*, after he had been Prior of many places, and eſpecially of *Chiapa* and *Guatemala*, choſe to live in to injoy quietneſſe, pleaſure and content; and in this Town was I feaſted by him in ſuch a ſumptuous, prodigall and laviſhing way, as truely might make poor mendicant Fryers aſhamed to come ſo neer unto Princes in vanity of life and dyet. From this Valley unto the *Vera Paz*, or *Coban*, the head Town of it, there is nothing conſiderable, ſave only one Town more called St. *Chriſtoval*, or St. *Chriſtopher*, which enjoyeth now a pleaſant Lake, and bottomleſſe, as is reported. Formerly there being no Lake at all, in a great Earthquake, the earth there opened, and ſwallowed up many houſes, leaving this Lake which ever ſince hath continued. From hence to *Coban* the wayes are bad and mountainous, yet ſuch as through the worſt of them, thoſe Countrey mules with heavy burthens eaſily go through. And thus with my pen, Reader, have I gone through moſt of the bounds and limits of *Guatemala*, which is more furniſhed with gallant Towns of *Indians*, then is any part of all *America*; and doubtleſſe were the *Indians* warlike, induſtrious, active for Warre or weapons, no part in all *America* might be ſtronger in people then *Guatemala*. But they being kept under and oppreſſed by the *Spaniards*, and no weapons allowed them, not ſo much as their naturall Bowes and Arrowes, much leſſe Guns, Piſtols, Muskets, Swords, or Pikes, their courage is gone, their affections alienated from the *Spaniards*, and ſo the *Spaniards* might very well fear, that if their Countrey ſhould be invaded, the multitude of their *Indian* people, would prove to them a multitude of enemies, either running away to another ſide; or forced to help would be to them but as the help of ſo many flies.

Chap. XIX.

Shewing the condition, quality, faſhion, and behaviour of the Indians *of the Countrey of* Guatemala *ſince the Conqueſt, and eſpecially of their Feaſts, and yearly Solemnities.*

THe condition of the *Indians* of this Countrey of *Guatemala* is as ſad, and as much to be pitied as of any *Indians* in *America*, for that I may ſay it is with them in ſome ſort, as it was with *Iſrael* in *Egypt*, of whom it is ſaid, *Exod.* 1. 7. *They were fruitfull and increaſed abundantly, and multiplied, and waxed exceeding mighty, and the land was filled with them*, and therefore *Pharaoh* ſaid unto his people, *Verſ.* 10. *Let us deal wiſely with them, leſt they multiply, and it come to paſſe, that when there falleth out any War, they joyne alſo unto our enemies, and fight againſt us.* Therefore they did ſet over them taskmaſters, to afflict them with their burdens, and they made their lives bitter with bondage, in morter and in brick, and in all manner of ſervice in the field; and all their ſervice wherein they made them ſerve was with rigor. Though it is true there ought not to be any compariſon made betwixt the *Iſraelites* and the *Indians*, thoſe being Gods people, theſe not as yet; nevertheleſſe the compariſon may well hold in the oppreſſion of the one and the other, and in the manner and cauſe of the oppreſſion, that being with bitterneſſe, rigour, and hard bondage, and leſt they ſhould multiply and increaſe too much. Certain it is, theſe *Indians* ſuffer great oppreſſion from the *Spaniards*, live in great bitterneſſe, are under hard bondage, and ſerve with great rigor; and all this, becauſe they are at leaſt a thouſand of them for one *Spaniard*, they daily multiply and increaſe, in children and wealth, and therefore are feared leſt they ſhould be too mighty, and either riſe up of themſelves, or joyn themſelves to any enemy againſt their oppreſſors; for both which fears and jealouſies, they are not allowed the uſe of any weapons or armes, no not their bowes and arrows, which their anceſtors formerly uſed; ſo that as hereby the *Spaniards* are ſecured from any hurt or annoyance

from

from them as an unarmed people; so may any other nation, that shall be incouraged to invade that land, be secure also from the *Indians*, and consequently the *Spaniards* own policy for themselves against the *Indians* may be their greatest ruine and destruction, being a great people and yet no people; for the abundance of their *Indians* would be to them as no people; and they themselves (who out of their few Towns and Cities live but here and there, too thinly scatered upon so great and capacious a land) would be but a handfull for any reasonable Army; and of that handfull very few would be found able or fitting men; and those able men would do little without the help of guns and ordinance; and if their own oppressed people, *Black-mores* and *Indians* (which themselves have alwayes feared) should side against them, soon would they be swallowed up both from within and from without. And by this it may easily appear how ungrounded they ar, who say, it is harder to conquer *America* now then in *Cortez* his time, for that there are now both *Spaniards* and *Indians* to fight against, and then there were none but bare and naked *Indians*. This I say is a false ground; for then there were *Indians* trained up in wars one against another, who knew well to use their bows and arrows, and darts, and other weapons, and were desperate in their fights and single combats, as may appear out of the histories of them; but now they are cowardized, oppressed, unarmed, soon frighted with the noise of a musket, nay with a sowre and grim look of a *Spaniard*, so from them there is no fear; neither can there be from the *Spaniards*, who from all the vast dominions of *Guatemala* are not able to raise five thousand able fighting men, nor to defend so many passages as lie open in severall parts of that Countrey, which the wider and greater it is, might be advantagious to an enemy, and while the *Spaniard* in one place might oppose his strength, in many other places might his land be over-run by a forain nation; nay by their own slaves the *Black-mores*, who doubtlesse to be set at liberty would side against them in any such occasion; and lastly, the Criolians who also are sore oppressed by them, would rejoyce in such a day, and yeeld rather to live with freedome and liberty under a forain people, then to be longer oppressed by those of their own bloud.

The miserable condition of the *Indians* of that Countrey is such, that though the Kings of *Spain* have never yeelded to what some would have, that they should be slaves, yet their lives are as full of bitternesse as is the life of a slave. For which I have known my selfe some of them that have come home from toyling and moyling with *Spaniards*, after many blowes, some wounds, and little or no wages, who have sullenly and stubbornly lain down upon their beds, resolving to die rather then to live any longer a life so slavish, and have refused to take either meat or drinke, or any thing else comfortable and nourishing, which their wives have offered unto them, that so by pining and starving they might consume themselves. Some I have by good perswasions encouraged to life rather then to a voluntary and wilfull death; others there have been that would not be perswaded, but in that wilfull way have died. The *Spaniards* that live about that Countrey (especially the Farmers of the Valley of *Mixco*, *Pinola*, *Petapa*, *Amatitlan*, and those of the *Sacatepeques*) alleadge that all their trading, and farming, is for the good of the Common-wealth, and therefore whereas there are not *Spaniards* enough for so ample and large a Countrey to do all their work, and all are not able to buy slaves and *Black-mores*, they stand in need of the *Indians* help to serve them for their pay and hire; whereupon it hath been considered, that a partition of *Indian* labourers be made every Munday, or Sunday in the afternoon to the *Spaniards*, according to the farmes they occupie, or according to their severall employments, calling, and trading with mules, or any other way. So that for such and such a district there is named an officer who is called Juez Repartidor, who according to a List made of every farm, house, and person, is to give so many *Indians* by the week. And here is a door opened to the President of *Guatemala*, and to the Judges to provide well for their meniall servants, whom they commonly appoint for this office, which is thus performed by them. They name the Town and place of their meeting upon Sunday or Monday, to the which themselves and the *Spaniards* of that district do resort. The *Indians* of the severall Towns are to have in a readinesse so many labourers as the Court of *Guatemala* hath appointed to be weekly taken out of such a Town, who are conducted by an *Indian* officer to the Town of generall meeting; and when they come thither with their tooles, their spades, shovels, bils, or axes, with their provision of victuals for a week (which are commonly some dry cakes of Maiz,

puddings

puddings of frixoles, or *French* beans, and a little Chile or biting long pepper, or a bit of cold meat for the first day or two) and with beds on their backs (which is only a course woollen mantle to wrap about them when they lie on the bare ground) then are they shut up in the Town-house, some with blowes, some with spurnings, some with boxes on the ear, if presently they go not in. Now all being gathered together, and the house filled with them, the Juez Repartidor or officer, cals by the order of the List such and such a *Spaniard*, and also cals out of the house so many *Indians* as by the Court are commanded to be given him (some are allowed three, some four, some ten, some fifteen, some twenty, according to their employments) and delivereth unto the *Spaniard* his *Indians*, and so to all the rest till they be all served; who when they receive their *Indians*, take from them a toole, or their mantles, to secure them that they run not away, and for every *Indian* delivered unto them, they give unto the Juez Repartidor or officer halfe a Riall, which is three pence an *Indian* for his fees, which mounteth yearly to him to a great deal of money; for some officers make a partition or distribution of four hundred, some of two hundred, some of three hundred *Indians* every week, and carryeth home with him so many half hundred Rials for one, or half a dayes work. If complaint be made by any *Spaniard* that such and such an *Indian* did run away from him, and served him not the week past, the *Indian* must be brought, and surely tied to a post by his hands in the Market place, and there be whipped upon his bare back. But if the poor *Indian* complain that the *Spaniards* cousened and cheated him of his shovell, axe, bill, mantle or wages, no justice shall be executed against the cheating *Spaniard*, neither shall the *Indian* be righted, though it is true the order runs equally in favour of both *Indian* and *Spaniard*. Thus are the poor *Indians* sold for three pence a piece for a whole weeks slavery, not permitted to go home at nights unto their wives, though their work lie not above a mile from the Town where they live; nay some are carried ten or twelve miles from their home, who must not return till Saturday night late, and must that week do whatsoever their Master pleaseth to command them. The wages appointed them will scarce find them meat and drinke, for they are not allowed a Riall a day, which is but six-pence, and with that they are to find themselves, but for six dayes work and diet they are to have five Rials, which is half a Crown. This same order is observed in the City of *Guatemala*, and Towns of *Spaniards*, where to every family that wants the service of an *Indian* or *Indians*, though it be but to fetch water and wood on their backs, or to go of arrants, is allowed the like service from the neereſt *Indian* Towns. It would grieve a Christians heart to see how by some cruell *Spaniards* in that weeks service those poor wretches are wronged and abused; some visiting their wives at home, whilst their poor husbands are digging and delving; others whipping them for their slow working, others wounding them with their swords, or breaking their heads for some reasonable and well grounded answer in their own behalf, others stealing from them their tooles, others cheating them of half, others of all their wages, alleadging that their service cost them half a Riall, and yet their work not well performed. I knew some who made a common practice of this, when their wheat was sowne, and they had little to do for the *Indians*; yet they would have home as many as were due unto their farme, and on Munday and Tuesday would make them cut and bring them on their backes as much wood as they needed all that week, and then on Wednesday at noon (knowing the great desire of the *Indians* to go home to their wives, for the which they would give any thing) would say unto them, What will you give me now, if I let you go home to do your own work? whereunto the *Indians* would joyfully reply and answer, some that they would give a Riall, others two Rials, which they would take and send them home, and so would have much work done, wood to serve their house a week, and mony as much as would buy them meat, and Cacao for Chocolatte two weeks together; and thus from the poor *Indians* do those unconscionable *Spaniards* practice a cheap and lasie way of living. Others will sell them away for that week unto a neighbour that hath present need of work, demanding Rials a piece for every *Indian*, which he that buyeth them, will be sure to defray out of their wages. So likewise are they in a slavish bondage and readinesse for all passengers and travellers, who in any Town may demand unto the next Town as many *Indians* do go with his Mules, or to carry on their backs a heavy burthen as he shall need, who at the journeys end will pick some quarrell with them, and so send them back,

back with blowes and ſtripes without any pay at all. A Petaca, or leathern Trunke, and cheſt of above a hundred weight, they will make thoſe wretches to carry on their backs a whole day, nay ſome two or three dayes together, which they do by tying the cheſt on each ſide with ropes, having a broad leather in the middle, which they croſſe over the forepart of their head, or over their forehead, hanging thus the waight upon their heads and browes, which at their journeys end hath made the bloud ſtick in the foreheads of ſome, galling and pulling off the skin, and marking them in the fore-top of their heads, who as they are called *Tamemez*, ſo are eaſily known in a Town by their baldneſſe, that leather girt having worn off all their hair. With theſe hard uſages, yet do thoſe poor people make a ſhift to live amongſt the *Spaniards*, but ſo that with anguiſh of heart they are ſtill crying out to God for juſtice, and for liberty, whoſe only comfort is in their Prieſts and Fryers, who many times do quiet them when they would riſe up in mutiny, and for their own ends do often prevail over them with fair and cunning perſwaſions, to bear and ſuffer for Gods ſake, and for the good of the Common-wealth that hard task and ſervice which is laid upon them. And though in all ſeaſons, wet and dry, cold and hot, and in all wayes plain and mountainous, green and dirty, duſty and ſtony, they muſt performe this hard ſervice to their commanding Maſters, their apparell and cloathing is but ſuch as may cover the nakedneſſe of their body, nay in ſome it is ſuch torne rags as will not cover halfe their nakedneſſe. Their ordinary cloathing is a pair of linnen or woollen drawers broad and open at the knees, without ſhooes (though in their journeys ſome will put on leathern ſandals to keep the ſoles of their feet) or ſtockins, without any doublet, a ſhort courſe ſhirt, which reacheth a little below their waſte, and ſerves more for a doublet then for a ſhirt, and for a cloake a woollen or linnen mantle, (called Aiate) tied with a knot over one ſhoulder, hanging down on the other ſide almoſt to the ground, with a twelve penny or two ſhilling hat, which after one good ſhower of raine like paper fals about their necks and eies; their bed they carry ſometimes about them, which is that woollen mantle wherewith they wrap themſelves about at night, taking off their ſhirt and drawers, which they lay under their head for a pillow; ſome will carry with them a ſhort, ſlight, and light Mat to lie on, but thoſe that carry it not with them, if they cannot borrow one of a neighbour, lie as willingly in their mantle upon the bare ground, as a Gentleman in *England* upon a ſoft down-bed, and thus do they ſoundly ſleep, and lowdly ſnort after a dayes work, or after a dayes journey with a hundred weight upon their backs. Thoſe that are of the better ſort, and richer, and who are not employed as *Tamemez* to carry burthens, or as Labourers to work for *Spaniards*, but keep at home following their own farmes, or following their own Mules about the Countrey, or following their trades and callings in their ſhops, or governing the Townes, as Alcaldes, or Alguaziles, officers of juſtice, may goe a little better apparelled, but after the ſame manner. For ſome will have their drawers with a lace at the bottom, or wrought with ſome coloured Silke or Crewel; ſo likewiſe the mantle about them, ſhall have either a lace, or ſome work of birds on it, ſome will wear a cut linnen doublet, others ſhooes, but very few ſtockins or bands about their neckes; and for their beds, the beſt *Indian* Governour, or the richeſt, who may be worth four or five thouſand Duckats, will have little more then the poor *Tamemez*; for they lie upon boards, or Canes bound together, and raiſed from the ground, whereon they lay a broad and handſome Mat, and at their heads for man and wife two little ſtumps of wood for bolſters, whereon they lay their ſhirts and mantles, and other cloaths for pillowes, covering themſelves with a broader blanket then is their mantle, and thus hardly would *Don Bernabe de Guzman* the Governour of *Petapa* lie, and ſo do all the beſt of them. The womens attire is cheap and ſoon put on; for moſt of them alſo go barefoot, the richer and better ſort wear ſhooes, with broad ribbons for ſhooeſtrings, and for a petticote, they tie about their waſte a woollen mantle, which in the better ſort is wrought with divers colours, but not ſowed at all, pleated or gathered in, but as they tie it with a liſt about them; they wear no ſhift next their body; but cover their nakedneſſe with a kind of ſurplice (which they call *Guaipil*) which hangs looſe from their ſhoulders down a little below their waſte, with open ſhort ſleeves, which cover halfe their armes; this Guaipil is curiouſly wrought, eſpecially in the boſome, with Cotton, or feathers. The richer ſort of them wear bracelets and bobs about their wriſts and necks; their hair is gathered up with fillets, without any quaiſe

or

or covering, except it be the better sort. When they go to Church or abroad, they put upon their heads a vail of linnen, which hangeth almost to the ground, and this is that which costs them most of all their attire, for that commonly it is of *Holland* or some good linnen brought from *Spain*, or fine linnen brought from *China*, which the better sort wear with a lace about. When they are at home at work they commonly take off their Guaipil, or surplice, discovering the nakednesse of their breasts and body. They lie also in their beds as do their husbands, wrapped up only with a mantle, or with a blanket. Their houses are but poor thatched cottages, without any upper rooms, but commonly one or two only rooms below, in the one they dresse their meat in the middle of it, making a compasse for fire, with two or three stones, without any other chimney to convey the smoak away, which spreading it self about the room filleth the thatch and the rafters so with sut, that all the room seemeth to be a chimney. The next unto it, is not free from smoak and blackneſse, where sometimes are four or five beds according to the family. The poorer sort have but one room, where they eat, dresse their meat and sleep. Few there are that sets any locks upon their dores, for they fear no robbing nor stealing, neither have they in their houses much to lose, earthen pots, and pans, and dishes, and cups to drinke their Chocolatte, being the chief commodities in their house. There is scarce any house which hath not also in the yard a stew, wherein they bath themselves with hot water, which is their chief physick when they feel themselves distempered. Among themselves they are in every Town divided into Tribes, which have one chief head, to whom all that belong unto that Tribe, do resort in any difficult matters; who is bound to aid, protect, defend, counsell, and appear for the rest of his Tribe before the officers of justice in any wrong that is like to be done unto them. When any is to be married, the father of the son that is to take a wife out of another Tribe, goeth unto the head of his Tribe to give him warning of his Sons marriage with such a maid. Then that head meets with the head of the maids Tribe, and they conferre about it. The businesse commonly is in debate a quarter of a year; all which time the parents of the youth or man are with gifts to buy the maide; they are to be at the charges of all that is spent in eating and drinking, when the heads of the two Tribes do meet with the rest of the kindred of each side, who sometimes sit in conference a whole day, or most part of a night. After many dayes and nights thus spent, and a full triall being made of the one and other sides affection, if they chance to disagree about the marriage, then is the Tribe and parents of the maid to restore back all that the other side hath spent and given. They give no portions with their daughters, but when they die, their goods and lands are equally divided among their sons. If any one want a house to live in, or will repair and thatch his house anew, notice is given to the heads of the Tribes, who warn all the Town to come to help in the work, and every one is to bring a bundle of straw, and other materials, so that in one day with the help of many they finish a house without any charges more then of Chocolatte, which they minister in great cups as big as will hold above a pint, not putting in any costly materials, as do the *Spaniards*, but only a little Annisеed, and Chile, or *Indian* pepper; or else they halfe fill the cup with Atolle, and powre upon it as much Chocolatte as will fill the cup and colour it. In their diet the poorer sort are limited many times to a dish of Frixoles, or Turkey beans, either black or white (which are there in very great abundance, and are kept dry for all the year) boyled with Chile; and if they can have this, they hold themselves well satisfied; with these beans, they make also dumplins, first boiling the bean a little, and then mingling it with a masse of Maiz, as we do mingle Currants in our cakes, and so boil again the Frixoles, with the dumplin of Maiz masse, and so eat it hot, or keep it cold; but this and all whatsoever else they eat, they either eat it with green biting Chile, or else they dip it in water and salt, wherein is bruised some of that Chile. But if their means will not reach to Frixoles, their ordinary fare and diet is their Tortilla's (so they call thin round cakes made of the dow and masse of Maiz) which they eat hot from an eathen pan, whereon they are soon baked with one turning over the fire; and these they eat alone either with Chile and salt, and dipping them in water and salt with a little bruised Chile. When their Maiz is green and tender, they boil some of those whole stalkes or clusters, whereon the Maiz groweth with the leaf about, and so casting a little salt about it, they eat it. I have often eat of this, and found it as dainty as our young green pease, and very nourishing, but it much increa-

increaſeth the bloud. Alſo of this green and tender Maiz they make a Furmity, boiling the Maiz in ſome of the milke which they have firſt taken out of it by bruiſing it. The pooreſt *Indian* never wants this diet, and is well ſatisfied, as long as his belly is thorowly filled. But the pooreſt that live in ſuch Towns where fleſh meat is ſold, will make a hard ſhift, but that when they come from work on Saturday night, they will buy one halfe Riall, or a Riall worth of freſh meat to eat on the Lords day. Some will buy a good deal at once, and keep it long by dreſſing it into Taſſajo's, which are bundles of fleſh, rowled up and tied faſt; which they do, when for examples ſake they have from a leg of beef ſliced off from the bone all the fleſh with the knife, after the length, form, and thinneſſe of a line, or rope. Then they take the fleſh and ſalt it, (which being ſliced and thinly cut, ſoon takes ſalt) and hang it up in their yards like a line from poſt to poſt, or from tree to tree, to the wind for a whole week, and then they hang it in the ſmoak another week, and after rowle it up in ſmall bundles, which become as hard as a ſtone, and ſo as they need it, they waſh it, boil it and eat it. This is *America's* powdered beef, which they call Taſſajo, whereof I have often eaten, and the *Spaniards* eat much of it, eſpecially thoſe that trade about the Countrey with Mules; nay this Taſſajo is a great commodity, and hath made many a *Spaniard* rich, who carry a Mule or two loaden with theſe Taſſajo's in ſmall parcels and bundles to thoſe Towns where is no fleſh at all ſold, and there they exchange them for other commodities among the *Indians*, receiving peradventure for one Taſſajo or bundle, (which coſt them but the half part of a farthing) as much Cacao, as in other places they ſell for a Riall or ſix pence. The richer ſort of people will fare better, for if there be fiſh or fleſh to be had, they will have it, and eat moſt greedily of it; and will not ſpare their fowls and Turkeys from their own bellies. Theſe alſo will now and then get a wild Dear, ſhooting it with their bows and arrows. And when they have killed it, they let it lie in the Wood in ſome hole or bottom covered with leaves for the ſpace of about a week, untill it ſtink and begin to be full of wormes; then they bring it home, cut it out into joints, and parboil it with a herbe which groweth there ſomewhat like unto our Tanzy, which they ſay ſweetneth it again, and maketh the fleſh eat tender, and as white as a piece of Turkey. Thus parboiled, they hang up the joints in the ſmoke for a while, and then boil it again, when they eat it, which is commonly dreſſed with red *Indian* pepper; and this is the Veniſon of *America*, whereof I have ſometimes eaten, and found it white and ſhort, but never durſt be too bold with it, not that I found any evill taſte in it, but that the apprehenſion of the wormes and maggots which formerly had been in it, troubled much my ſtomack. Theſe *Indians* that have little to do at home, and are not employed in the weekly ſervice under the *Spaniards* in their hunting, will look ſeriouſly for Hedge-hogs, which are juſt like unto ours, though certainly ours are not meat for any Chriſtian. They are full of pricks and briſtles like ours, and are found in woods and fields, living in holes, and as they ſay feed upon nothing but Amits and their egs, and upon dry rotten ſticks, herbs, and roots; of theſe they eat much, the fleſh being as white and ſweet as a Rabbit, and as fat as is a *January* hen, kept up and fatted in a Coop. Of this meat I have alſo eaten, and confeſſe it is a dainty diſh there, though I will not ſay the ſame of a Hedge-hog here; for what here may be poyſon, there may be good and lawfull meat, by ſome accidentall difference in the creature it ſelf, and in that which it feeds upon, or in the temper of the air and climate. This meat not only the *Indians* but the beſt of the *Spaniards* feed on it; and it is ſo much eſteemed of, that becauſe in Lent they are commonly found, the *Spaniards* will not be deprived of it, but do eat it alſo then, alleadging that it is no fleſh (though in the eating it be in fatneſſe and in taſte, and in all like unto fleſh) for that it feeds not upon any thing that is very nouriſhing, but chiefly upon Amits egs, and dry ſticks. It is a great point of controverſie amongſt their Divines, ſome hold it lawfull, others unlawfull for that time; it ſeems the pricks and briſtles of the *Indian* Hedge-hog prick their conſciences with a fooliſh ſcruple. Another kind of meat they feed much on which is called *Iguana*; of theſe ſome are found in the waters, others upon the land. They are longer then a Rabbit, and like unto a Scorpion, with ſome green, ſome black ſcales on their backes. Thoſe upon the land will run very faſt like Lizards, and will climbe up trees like Squerrils, and breed in the roots of trees or in ſtone wals. The ſight of them is enough to affright one; and yet when they are dreſſed and ſtewed in broth with a little ſpice, they make a dainty broth, and eat alſo as white as a Rabbit, nay the middle bone is made juſt like

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the backe bone of a Rabbit. They are dangerous meat, if not throughly boiled, and they had almoſt coſt me my life for eating too much of them, not being ſtewed enough. There are alſo many water and land Tortoi's, which the *Indians* find out for themſelves, and alſo reliſh exceeding well unto the *Spaniards* palate. As for drinking, the *Indians* generally are much given unto it; and drink if they have nothing elſe, of their poor and ſimple Chocolatte, without Sugar or many compounds, or of Atolle, untill their bellies be ready to burſt. But if they can get any drink that will make them mad drunk, they will not give it over as long as a drop is left, or a penny remains in their purſe to purchaſe it. Amongſt themſelves they uſe to make ſuch drinks as are in operation far ſtronger then wine; and theſe they confection in ſuch great Jarres as come from *Spain*; wherein they put ſome little quantity of water, and fill up the Jar with ſome Melaſſo's, or juice of the Sugar Cane, or ſome hony for to ſweeten it; then for the ſtrengthning of it, they put roots and leaves of Tobacco, with other kinde of roots which grow nhere, and they know to be ſtrong in operation, nay in ſome places I have known where they have put in a live toad, and ſo cloſed up the Jar for a fortnight, or moneths ſpace, till all that they have put in him, be throughly ſteeped and the toad conſumed, and the drink wel ſtrengthened, then they open it, and call their friends to the drinking of it, (which commonly they do in the night time, leſt their Prieſt in the Town ſhould have notice of them in the day) which they never leave off, untill they be mad and raging drunk. This drink they call Chicha, which ſtinketh moſt filthily, and certainly is the cauſe of many *Indians* death, eſpecially where they uſe the toads poyſon with it. Once I was informed living in *Mixco*, of a great meeting that was appointed in an *Indians* houſe; and I took with me the officers of Juſtice of the Town, to ſearch that *Indians* houſe, where I found four Jarres of *Chicha* not yet opened, I cauſed them to be taken out, and broken in the ſtreet before his door, and the filthy Chicha to be poured out, which left ſuch a ſtinking ſent in my noſtrils, that with the ſmell of it, or apprehenſion of its loathſomeneſſe, I fell to vomiting, and continued ſick almoſt a whole week after.

Now the *Spaniards* knowing this inclination of the *Indians* unto drunkenneſſe, do herein much abuſe and wrong them; though true it is there is a ſtrict order, even to the forfeiting of the wine of any one who ſhall preſume to ſell wine in a Town of *Indians*, with a mony mulct beſides. Yet for all this the baſer and poorer ſort of *Spaniards* for their lucre and gain contemning authority, will go out from *Guatemala*, to the Towns of *Indians* about, and carry ſuch wine to ſell and inebriate the Natives as may be very advantagious to themſelves; for of one Jar of wine, they will make two at leaſt, confectioning it with hony and water, and other ſtrong drugs which are cheap to them, and ſtrongly operative upon the poor and weak *Indians* heads, and this they will ſell for currant *Spaniſh* wine, with ſuch pint and quart meaſures, as never were allowed by Juſtice Order, but by themſelves invented. With ſuch wine they ſoon intoxicate the poor *Indians*, and when they have made them drunk, then they will cheat them more, making them pay double for their quart meaſure; and when they ſee they can drink no more, then they will cauſe them to lie down and ſleep, and in the mean while will pick their pockets. This is a common ſin among thoſe *Spaniards* of *Guatemala*, and much practiſed in the City upon the *Indians*, when they come thither to buy or ſell. Thoſe that keep the Bodegones (ſo are called the houſes that ſell wine, which are no better then a Chandlers ſhop, for beſides wine they ſell Candles, Fiſh, Salt, Cheeſe and Bacon) will commonly intice in the *Indians*, and make them drunk, and then pick their pockets, and turn them out of doores with blowes and ſtripes, if they will not fairly depart. There was in *Guatemala* in my time one of theſe Bodegoners, or ſhopkeeper of wine and ſmall ware, named *Joan Ramos*, who by thus cheating and tipling poor *Indians* (as it was generally reported) was worth two hundred thouſand duckates, and in my time gave with a daughter that was married, eight thouſand Duckats. No *Indian* ſhould paſſe by his door, but he would call him in, and play upon him as aforeſaid. In my time a *Spaniſh* Farmer, neighbour of mine in the Valley of *Mixco*, chanced to ſend to *Guatemala* his *Indian* ſervants with half a dozen mules loaden with wheat to a Merchant, with whom he had agreed before for the price, and ordered the money to be ſent unto him by his ſervant (whom he had kept ſix years, and ever found him truſty) the wheat being deſivered, and the money received (the which mounted to ten pound, ſixteen ſhillings, every mule carrying

rying six bushels, at twelve Rials a bushell, as was then the price) the *Indian* with another Mate of his walking along the streets to buy some small commodities, passed by *John Ramos* his shop, or bodegon, who enticing him and his mate in, soon tripped up their heels with a little confectioned wine for that purpose, and took away all his mony from the intrusted *Indian*, and beat them out of his house; who thus drunk being forced to ride home, the *Indian* that had received the money, fell from his Mule, and broke his neck; the other got home without his mate or money. The Farmer prosecuted *John Ramos* in the Court for his money, but *Ramos* being rich and abler to bribe, then the Farmer, got off very well, and so had done formerly in almost the like cases. These are but peccadillo's among those *Spaniards*, to make drunke, rob, and occasion the poor *Indians* death; whose death with them is no more regarded nor vindicated, then the death of a sheep or bullock, that fals into a pit. And thus having spoken of apparell, houses, eating and drinking, it remains that I say somewhat of their civility, and Religion of those who lived under the Government of the *Spaniards*. From the *Spaniards* they have borrowed their Civill Government, and in all Towns they have one or two *Alcaldes*, with more or lesse *Regidores*, (who are as Aldermen or Jurates amongst us) and some *Alguaziles*, more or lesse, who are as Constables, to execute the orders of the *Alcalde* (who is a Maior) with his Brethren. In Towns of three or four hundred families, or upwards, there are commonly two Alcaldes, six Regidores, two Alguaziles Maiors, and six under or petty Alguaziles. And some Towns are priviledged with an *Indian* Governour, who is above the Alcaldes, and all the rest of the Officers. These are changed every year by new election, and are chosen by the *Indians* themselves, who take their turns by the tribes or kindreds, whereby they are divided. Their offices begin on New years day, and after that day their election is carryed to the City of *Guatemala* (if in that district it be made) or else to the heads of Justice, or *Spanish* Governours of the severall Provinces, who confirm the new Election, and take account of the last years expences made by the other officers, who carry with them their Town book of accounts; and therefore for this purpose every Town hath a Clerk or Scrivener, called Escrivano, who commonly continueth many years in his office, by reason of the paucity and unfitnesse of *Indian* Scriveners, who are able to bear such a charge. This Clerk hath many fees for his writings and informations, and accounts, as have the *Spaniards*, though not so much money or bribes, but a small matter, according to the poverty of the *Indians*. The Governour is also commonly continued many years, being some chief man among the *Indians*, except for his misdemeanours he be complained of, or the *Indians* in generall do all stomach him.

Thus they being setled in a civill way of government, they may execute justice upon all such *Indians* of their Town as do notoriously and scandalously offend. They may imprison, fine, whip, and banish, but hang and quarter they may not; but must remit such cases to the *Spanish* Governour. So likewise if a *Spaniard* passing by the Town, or living in it, do trouble the peace, and misdemean himself, they may lay hold on him, and send him to the next *Spanish* Justice, with a full information of his offence, but fine him or keep him above one night in prison they may not. This order they have against *Spaniards*, but they dare not execute it, for a whole Town standeth in awe of one *Spaniard*, and though he never so hainously offend, and be unruly, with oathes, threatnings, and drawing of his sword, he maketh them quake and tremble, and not presume to touch him; for they know if they do, they shall have the worst, either by blowes, or by some mis-information, which he will give against them. And this hath been very often tried, for where *Indians* have by virtue of their order indeavoured to curbe an unruly *Spaniard* in their Town, some of them have been wounded, others beaten, and when they have carried the *Spaniard* before a *Spanish* Justice and Governour, he hath pleaded for what he hath done, saying it was in his own defence, or for his King and Soveraign, and that the *Indians* would have killed him, and began to mutiny all together against the *Spanish* authority, and Government, denying to serve him with what he needed for his way and journey, that they would not be slaves to give him or any *Spaniard* any attendance, and that they would make an end of him, and of all the *Spaniards*. With these and such like false and lying mis-informations, the unruly *Spaniards* have often been beleeved, and too much upheld in their rude and uncivill misdemeanors, and the *Indians* bitterly curbed, and punished, and answer made them in such cases, that if they had been killed for their

mutiny and rebellion againſt the King, and his beſt ſubjects, they had been ſerved well enough; and that if they gave not attendance unto the *Spaniards* that paſſed by their Town, their houſes ſhould be fired, and they and their children utterly conſumed. With ſuch like anſwers from the Juſtices, and credency to what any baſe *Spaniard* ſhall inform againſt them, the poor *Indians* are fain to put up all wrongs done unto them, not daring to meddle with any *Spaniard*, be he never ſo unruly; by virtue of that Order which they have againſt them. Amongſt themſelves, if any complaint be made againſt any *Indian*, they dare not meddle with him untill they call all his kindred, and eſpecially the head of that tribe to which he belongeth; who if he and the reſt together, find him to deſerve impriſonment, or whipping, or any other puniſhment, then the Officers of Juſtice, the Alcaldes or Maiors, and their Brethren the Jurates inflict upon him that puniſhment; which all ſhall agree upon. But yet after judgment and ſentence given, they have another which is their laſt appeal, if they pleaſe, and that is to their Prieſt and Fryer, who liveth in their Town, by whom they will ſometimes be judged, and undergo what puniſhment he ſhall think fitteſt. To the Church therefore they often reſort in points of Juſtice, thinking the Prieſt knoweth more of Law and equity, then themſelves: who ſometimes reverſeth what judgement hath been given in the Town houſe, blaming the Officers for their partiality and paſſion againſt their poor Brother, and ſetting free the party judged by them; which the Prieſt does oftentimes, if ſuch an *Indian* do belong to the Church, or to the ſervice of their houſe, or have any other relation to them, peradventure for their wives ſake, whom either they affect or imploy in waſhing, or making their Chocolatte. Such, and their husbands may live lawleſſe as long as the Prieſt is in the Town. And if when the Prieſt is abſent, they call them to triall for any miſdemeanor, and whip, fine, or impriſon, (which occaſion they will ſometimes pick out on purpoſe) when the Prieſt returnes, they ſhall be ſure to hear of it, and ſmart for it, yea, and the Officers themſelves peradventure be whipped in the Church, by the Prieſts order and appointment; againſt whom they dare not ſpeak, but willingly accept what ſtripes and puniſhment he layeth upon them, judging his wiſdome, ſentence, and puniſhing hand, the wiſdome, ſentence and hand of God; whom as they have been taught to be over all Princes, Judges, worldly Officers, ſo likewiſe they believe, (and have been ſo taught) that his Prieſts and Miniſters are above theirs, and all worldly power and authority. It happened unto me living in the Town of *Mixco*, that an *Indian* being judged to be whipped for ſome diſorders, which he committed, would not yeeld to the ſentence, but appealed to me, ſaying he would have his ſtripes in the Church, and by my order, for ſo he ſaid his whipping would do him good, as coming from the hand of God. When he was brought unto me, I could not reverſe the *Indians* judgment, for it was juſt, and ſo cauſed him to be whipped, which he took very patiently and merrily, and after kiſſed my hands and gave me an offering of money for the good he ſaid, I had done unto his ſoul. Beſides this civility of juſtice amongſt them, they live as in other Civill and Politick and well governed Common-wealths; for in moſt of their Towns, there are ſome that profeſſe ſuch trades as are practiſed among *Spaniards*. There are amongſt them Smiths, Taylors, Carpenters, Maſons, Shoomakers, and the like. It was my fortune to ſet upon a hard and difficult building in a Church of *Mixco*, where I deſired to make a very broad and capacious vault over the Chappell, which was the harder to be finiſhed in a round circumference, becauſe it depended upa triangle, yet for this work I ſought none but *Indians*, ſome of the Town, ſome from other places, who made it ſo compleat, that the beſt and skilfulleſt workmen among the *Spaniards* had enough to wonder at it. So are moſt of their Churches vaulted on the top, and all by *Indians*; they only in my time built a new Cloiſter in the Town of *Amatitlan*, which they finiſhed with many Arches of ſtone both in the lower walks and in the upper galleries, with as much perfection as the beſt Cloiſter of *Guatemala*, had before been built by the *Spaniard*. Were they more incouraged by the *Spaniards*, and taught better principles both for ſoul and body, doubtleſſe they would among themſelves make a very good Common-wealth. For painting they are much inclined to it, and moſt of the pictures, and Altars of the Countrey Towns are their workmanſhip. In moſt of their Towns they have a Schoole, where they are taught to read, to ſing, and ſome to write. To the Church there do belong according as the Town is in bigneſſe, ſo many Singers, and Trumpeters, and Waits, over whom the Prieſt hath

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one Officer, who is called *Fiscal*; he goeth with a white Stafie with a little Silver Crosse on the top to represent the Church, and shew that he is the Priests Clerk and Officer. When any case is brought to be examined by the Priest, this Fiscall or Clerk executeth Justice by the Priests Order. He must be one that can read and write, and is commonly the Master of musick. He is bound upon the Lords day and other Saints dayes, to gather to the Church before and after Service all the young youths and maids, and to teach them the Prayers, Sacraments, Commandements, and other points of Catechisme allowed by the Church of *Rome*. In the morning he and the other Musicians at the sound of the Bell, are bound to come to the Church to sing and officiate at Masse, which in many Towns they performe with Organs and other Musicall instruments, (as hath been observed before) as well as *Spaniards*. So likewise at evening at five of the clock they are again to resort to Church, when the Bell calleth to sing Prayers, which they call Completa's, or Completory, with *Salve Regina*, a prayer to the Virgin *Mary*. This Fiscal is a great man in the Town, and beares more sway then the Maiors, Jurates, and other Officers of Justice, and when the Priest is pleased, giveth attendance to him, goeth about his arrants, appointeth such as are to wait on him when he rideth out of Town. Both he and all that doe belong unto the Church, are exempted from the common weekly service of the *Spaniards*, and from giving attendance to Travellers, and from other Officers of Justice. But they are to attend with their Wait, Trumpets and Musick, upon any great man or Priest that cometh to their Town, and to make Arches with boughs and flowers in the streets for their entertainment. Besides these, those also that do belong unto the service of the Priests house, are priviledged from the *Spaniards* service. Now the Priest hath change of servants by the week, who take their turnes so, that they may have a week or two to spare to do their work. If it be a great Town, he hath three Cooks allowed him, (if a small Town, but two) men Cooks who change their turns, except he have any occasion of feasting, then they all come. So likewise he hath two or three more (whom they call Chahal) as Butlers, who keep whatsoever provision is in the house under lock and key; and give to the Cook what the Priest appointeth to be dressed for his dinner or supper; these keep the Table Clothes, Napkins, Dishes, and Trenchers, and lay the Cloth, and take away, and wait at the Table; he hath besides three or four, and in great Towns half a dozen of boyes to do his arrants, wait at the Table, and sleep in the house all the week by their turns, who with the Cooks and Butlers dine and sup constantly in the Priests house, and at his charges. He hath also at dinner and supper times the attendance of some old women (who also take their turns) to oversee half a dozen yong maids, who next to the Priests house do meet to make him and his family Tortilla's or Cakes of Maiz, which the boyes do bring hot to the Table by halfe a dozen at a time. Besides these servants, if he have a Garden he is allowed two or three Gardeners; and for his stable, at least half a dozen *Indians*, who morning and evening are to bring him Sacate (as there they call it) or herb and grasse for his Mules and Horses, these diet not in the house; but the groome of the stable, who is to come at morning, noon and Evening, (and therefore are three or four to change) or at any time that the Priest will ride out; these I say and the Gardners (when they are at work) dine and sup at the Priests charges; who sometimes in great Towns hath above a dozen to feed and provide for. There are besides belonging to the Church priviledged from the weekly attendance upon the *Spaniards* two or three *Indians*, called Sacristanes, who have care of the Vestry and Copes, and Altar Clothes, and every day make ready the Altar or Altars for Masse; also to every Company or Sodality of the Saints, or Virgin, there are two or three, whom they call Mayordomo's, who gather about the Town Almes for the maintaining of the Sodality; these also gather Egges about the Town for the Priest every week, and give him an account of their gatherings, and allow him every moneth, or fortnight, two Crownes for a Masse to be sung to the Saint.

If there be any fishing place neer the Town, then the Priest also is allowed for to seek him fish three or four, and in some places half a dozen *Indians*, besides the offerings in the Church, and many other offerings which they bring whensoever they come to speak unto the Priest, or confesse with him, or for a Saints feast to be celebrated, and besides their Tithes of every thing, there is a monethly maintenance in money allowed unto the Priest, and brought unto him by the Alcaldes, or Maiors, and Jurates,

which he ſetteth his hand unto in a book of the Towns expences. This maintenance (though it be allowed by the *Spaniſh* magiſtrate, and paid in the Kings name for the preaching of the Goſpel) yet it comes out of the poor *Indians* purſes and labour, and is either gathered about the Town, or taken out of the Tribute, which they pay unto the King, or from a common plat of ground which with the help of all is ſowed and gathered in and ſold for that purpoſe. All the Towns in *America*, which are civilized and under the *Spaniſh* government, belong either to the Crown, or to ſome other Lords, whom they call Encomendero's, and pay a yearly tribute unto them. Thoſe that are tenants to their Lords or Encomendero's (who commonly are ſuch as deſcend from the firſt conquerers) pay yet unto the King ſome ſmall tribute in money, beſides what they pay in other kind of commodities unto their own Encomendero, and in money alſo. There is no Town ſo poor, where every married *Indian* doth not pay at the leaſt in money four Rials a year for tribute to the *King*, beſides other four Rials to his Lord or Encomendero. And if the Town pay only to the King, they pay at leaſt ſix, and in ſome places eight Rials by ſtatute, beſides what other commodities are common to the Town or Countrey where they live, as Maiz, (that is paid in all Towns) hony, Turkeys, fowles, ſalt, Cacao, Mantles of Cotton-wool; and the like commodities they pay who are ſubject to an Encomendero; but ſuch pay only mony, not commodities to the King. The mantles of tribute are much eſteemed of, for they are choiſe ones, and of a bigger ſize then others, ſo likewiſe is the tribute *Cacao*, *Achiotte*, *Cochinil*, where it is paid; for the beſt is ſet apart for the Tribute; and if the *Indians* bring that which is not prime good, they ſhall ſurely be laſhed, and ſent back for better. The heads of the ſeverall Tribes have care to gather it, and to deliver it to the Alcaldes and Regidores, Maiors and Jurates, who carry it either to the Kings Exchequer in the City, or to the neareſt *Spaniſh* Juſtice (if it belong to the King) or to the Lord, or Encomendero of the Town. In nothing I ever perceived the *Spaniards* merciſull and indulgent unto the *Indians*, but in this, that if an *Indian* be very weak, poor and ſickly and not able to work, or threeſcore and ten years of age, he is freed from paying any tribute. There be alſo ſome Towns priviledged from this tribute; which are thoſe which can prove themſelves to have deſcended from *Tlaxcallan*, or from certain Tribes or families of or about *Mexico*, who helped the firſt *Spaniards* in the conqueſt of that Countrey. As for their carriage and behaviour, the *Indians* are very courteous and loving, and of a timorous nature, and willing to ſerve and to obey, and to do good, if they be drawn by love; but where they are too much tyrannized, they are dogged, unwilling to pleaſe, or to work; and will chooſe rather ſtrangling and death then life. They are very truſty, and never were known to commit any robbery of importance; ſo that the *Spaniards* dare truſt to abide with them in a wilderneſſe all night, though they have bags of gold about them. So for ſecrecy they are very cloſe; and will not reveal any thing againſt their own Natives, or a *Spaniards* credit and reputation, if they be any way affected to him. But above all unto their Prieſt they are very reſpective unto him; and when they come to ſpeak unto him, put on their beſt clothes, ſtudy their complements and words to pleaſe him. They are very abundant in their expreſſions, and full of circumlocutions adorned with parables and ſimile's to expreſſe their mind and intention. I have often ſat ſtill for the ſpace of an hour, only hearing ſome old women make their ſpeeches unto me, with ſo many elegancies in their tongue (which in *Engliſh* would be non-ſenſe, or barbarous expreſſions) as would make me wonder, and learn by their ſpeeches more of their language, then by any other endevour or ſtudy of mine own. And if I could reply unto them in the like phraſes and expreſſions (which I would often endevour) I ſhould be ſure to win their hearts, and get any thing from them. As for their Religion, they are outwardly ſuch as the *Spaniards*, but inwardly hard to believe that which is above ſenſe, nature, and the viſible ſight of the eye; and many of them to this day do incline to worſhip Idols of ſtocks and ſtones, and are given to much ſuperſtition, and to obſerve croſſe wayes, and meeting of beaſts in them, the flying of birds, their appearing and ſinging neer their houſes at ſuch and ſuch times. Many are given to witchcraft, and are deluded by the Devill to believe that their life dependeth upon the life of ſuch and ſuch a beaſt (which they take unto them as their familiar ſpirit) and think that when that beaſt dieth they muſt die; when he is chaſed, their hearts pant, when he is faint they are faint; nay it happeneth that by the devils deluſion they appear in the

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ſhape of that beaſt, (which commonly by their choice is a Buck, or Doe, a Lion, or Tigre, or Dog, or Eagle) and in that ſhape have been ſhot at and wounded, as I ſhall ſhew in the Chapter following. And for this reaſon (as I came to underſtand by ſome of them) they yeeld unto the Popiſh Religion, eſpecially to the worſhiping of Saints Images, becauſe they look upon them as much like unto their forefathers Idols; and ſecondly, becauſe they ſee ſome of them painted with Beaſts; as *Hierom* with a Lyon, *Anthony* with an Aſſe, and other wild beaſts, *Dominick* with a Dog, *Blas* with a Hog, *Marke* with a Bull, and *John* with an Eagle, they are more confirmed in their deluſions, and think verily thoſe Saints were of their opinion, and that thoſe beaſts were their familiar ſpirits in whoſe ſhape they alſo were transformed when they lived, and with whom they died. All *Indians* are much affected unto theſe Popiſh Saints, but eſpecially thoſe which are given to witchcraft, and out of the ſmalneſſe of their means they will be ſure to buy ſome of theſe Saints and bring them to the Church, that there they may ſtand and be worſhipped by them and others. The Churches are full of them, and they are placed upon ſtanders gilded or painted, to be carried in proceſſion upon mens ſhoulders, upon their proper day. And from hence cometh no little profit to the Prieſts; for upon ſuch Saints daies, the owner of the Saint maketh a great feaſt in the Town, and preſenteth unto the Prieſt ſometimes two or three, ſometimes four or five crownes for his Maſſe and Sermon, beſides a Turkey and three or four fowls, with as much Cacao as will ſerve to make him Chocolatte for all the whole *Octave* or eight dayes following. So that in ſome Churches, where there are at leaſt fourty of theſe Saints Statues and Images, they bring unto the Prieſt at leaſt fourty pounds a year. The Prieſt therefore is very watchfull over thoſe Saints dayes, and ſendeth warning beforehand unto the *Indians* of the day of their Saint, that they may provide themſelves for the better celebrating it both at home and in the Church. If they contribute not bountifully, then the Prieſt will chide, and threaten that he will not preach. Some *Indians* through poverty have been unwilling to contribute any thing at all, or to ſolemnize in the Church and at his houſe his Saints day, but then the Prieſt hath threatned to caſt his Saints image out of the Church, ſaying that the Church ought not to be filled with ſuch Saints as are unprofitable to ſoul and body, and that in ſuch a ſtatues room one may ſtand, which may do more good by occaſioning a ſolemn celebration of one day more in the year. So likewiſe if the *Indian* that owed one of thoſe Images die and leave children, they are to take care of that Saint as part of their inheritance, and to provide that his day be kept; but if no ſon, or heirs be left, then the Prieſt calleth for the heads of the ſeverall Tribes, and for the chief officers of juſtice, and maketh a ſpeech unto them, wherein he declareth that part of the Church ground is taken up in vain by ſuch an image, and his ſtander, without any profit either to the Prieſt, the Church, or the Town, no heir or owner being left alive to provide for that orphan Saint, to own it; and that in caſe they will not ſeek out who may take charge of him, and of his day, the Prieſt will not ſuffer him to ſtand idle in his Church, like thoſe whom our Saviour in the Goſpell rebuked, *Quid hic ſtatis tota die otioſi?* for that they ſtood idle in the market all the day (theſe very expreſſions have I heard there from ſome Friers) and therefore that he muſt baniſh ſuch a Saints picture out of the Church, and muſt deliver him up before them into the Juſtices hands to be kept by them in the Town-houſe, untill ſuch time as he may be bought and owned by ſome good Chriſtian. The *Indians* when they hear theſe expreſſions, begin to fear, leſt ſome judgement may befall their Town for ſuffering a Saint to be excommunicated and caſt out of their Church, and therefore preſent unto the Prieſt ſome offering for his prayers unto the Saint, that he may do them no harme, and deſire him to limit them a time to bring him an anſwer for the diſpoſing of that Saint (thinking it will prove a diſparagement and affront unto their Town, if what once hath belonged to the Church, be now out, and delivered up to the ſecular power) and that in the mean time, they will find out ſome good Chriſtian, either of the neereſt friends and kindred to him or them who firſt owned the Saint, or elſe ſome ſtranger, who may buy that Saint of the Prieſt (if he continue in the Church) or of the ſecular power (if he be caſt out of the Church and delivered up unto them, which they are unwilling to yeeld to, having been taught of judgements in ſuch a caſe like to befall them) and may by ſome ſpeedy feaſt and ſolemnity appeaſe the Saints anger towards them, for having been ſo ſleighted by the Town. Alas poor *Indians*, what will they not be brought unto by thoſe

Fryers and Prieſts, who ſtudy nothing more then their own ends, and to enrich themſelves from the Church and Altar! their policies (who are the wiſe and prudent children of this world ſpoken of in the Goſpell) can eaſily overtop and maſter the ſimplicity of the poor *Indians*; who rather then they will bring an affront upon their Town, by ſuffering any of their Saints to be caſt out of their Church, or to be with mony redeemed out of the ſecular powers hands, will make haſt to preſent unto him an owner of that orphan Saint, who for him ſhall give to the Prieſt not only what he may be prized to be worth in a Painters ſhop for the workmanſhip, gold and colours belonging to him; but beſides ſhall preſent him what before hath been obſerved, for the ſolemnizing of his feaſt. Theſe feaſts bring yet unto the Saints more profit then hitherto hath been ſpoken of; for the *Indians* have been taught that upon ſuch dayes they ought to offer up ſomewhat unto the Saints; and therefore they prepare either money (ſome a Riall, ſome two, ſome more) or elſe commonly about *Guatemala* white wax-candles, and in other places Cacao, or fruits, which they lay before the image of the Saint, whilſt the Maſſe is celebrating. Some *Indians* will bring a bundle of candles of a dozen tied together of Rials a piece ſome, ſome of three or four for a Riall, and will if they be let alone light them all together and burn them out, ſo that the Prieſt at the end of the Maſſe will find nothing but the ends. Therefore (knowing well of the wayes of policy and covetouſneſſe) he chargeth the Church officers, whom I ſaid before were called *Mayordomo's* to look to the offerings, and not to ſuffer the *Indians* who bring candles to light more then one before the Saint, and to leave the other before him unlighted (having formerly taught them, that the Saints are as well pleaſed with their whole candles as with their burnt candles) that ſo he may have the more to ſell and make money of. After Maſſe the Prieſt and the *Mayordomo's* take and ſweep away from the Saint whatſoever they find hath been offered unto him; ſo that ſometimes in a great Town upon ſuch a Saints day the Prieſt may have in money twelve or twenty Rials, and fifty or a hundred candles, which may be worth unto him twenty or thirty ſhillings, beſides ſome ends and pieces. Moſt of the Fryers about *Guatemala* are with theſe offerings as well ſtored with candles, as is any Wax-chandlers ſhop in the City. And the ſame candles which thus they have received by offerings they need not care to ſell them away to *Spaniards*, who come about to buy them (though ſome will rather ſell them together to ſuch though cheaper, that their money might come in all at once) for the *Indians* themſelves when they want again any candles for the like feaſt, or for a Chriſtening, and for a womans Churching (at which times they alſo offer candles) will buy their own again of the Prieſt, who ſometimes receiveth the ſame candles and money for them again five or ſix times. And becauſe they find that the *Indians* incline very much to this kind of offerings, and that they are ſo profitable unto them, the Fryers do much preſſe upon the *Indians* in their preaching this point of their Reilgion, and devotion. But if you demand of theſe ignorant, but zealous offerers the *Indians* an account of any point of faith, they will give you little or none. The myſtery of the Trinity, and of the incarnation of Chriſt, and our redemption by him is too hard for them; they will only anſwer what they have been taught in a Catechiſme of queſtions and anſwers; but if you aske them if they believe ſuch a point of Chriſtianity, they will never anſwer affirmatively, but only thus, Perhaps it may be ſo. They are taught there the doctrine of *Rome*, that Chriſts body is truely and really preſent in the Sacrament, and no bread in ſubſtance, but only the accidents; if the wiſeſt *Indian* be asked, whether he believe this, he will anſwer, Perhaps it may be ſo. Once an old woman, who was held to be very religious, in the Town of *Mixco*, came to me about receiving the Sacrament, and whileſt I was inſtructing of her, I asked her if ſhe believed that Chriſts body was in the Sacrament, ſhe anſwered, Peradventure it may be ſo. A little while after to try her and get her out of this ſtrain and common anſwer, I asked her what and who was in the Sacrament which ſhe received from the Prieſts hand at the Altar; ſhe anſwered nothing for a while, and at laſt I preſſed upon her for an affirmative anſwer: and then ſhe began to look about to the Saints in the Church, (which was dedicated to a Saint which they call St. *Dominick*) and, as it ſeemed, being troubled and doubtful what to ſay, at laſt ſhe caſt her eyes upon the high Altar; but I ſeeing ſhe delayed the time, asked her again, who was in the Sacrament? to which ſhe replyed, St. *Dominick*, who was the Patron of that Church and Town. At this I ſmiled, and would yet further try her ſimplicity with a ſimple queſtion. I told her ſhe ſaw St. *Dominick*

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was painted with a dog by him holding a torch in his mouth, and the globe of the world at his feet; I asked her, whether all this were with St. *Dominick* in the Sacrament? To which she answered, Perhaps it might be so; wherewith I began to chide her, and to instruct her. But mine instruction, nor all the teaching and preaching of those *Spanish* Priests hath not yet well grounded them in principles of faith; they are dull and heavie to believe or apprehend of God, or of heaven, more then with sense or reason they can conceive. Yet they go and run that way they see the *Spaniards* run, and as they are taught by their Idolatrous Priests: Who have taught them much formality, and so they are (as our Formalists formerly in *England*) very formall, but little substantiall in Religion. They have been taught that when they come to confession, they must offer somewhat to the Priest, and that by their gifts and almes, their sins shall be sooner forgiven; this they do so formally observe, that whensoever they come to confession, but especially in Lent, none of them dareth to come with empty hands; some bring money, some honey, some egs, some fowls, some fish, some Cacao, some one thing, some another, so that the Priest hath a plentifull harvest in Lent for his pains in hearing their Confessions. They have been taught that also when they receive the Communion, they must surely every one give at least a Riall to the Priest, (surely *England* was never taught in *America* to buy the Sacrament with a two pence offering, and yet this custome too much practised and pressed upon the people) which they performe so, that I have known some poor *Indians*, who have for a week or two forborn from coming to the Communion untill they could get a Riall offering. It is to be wondred what the Priests do get from those poor wretches in great Towns by Confession and Communion Rials in great Towns, where they denie the Sacrament to none that will receive it, (and in some Towns I have known a thousand Communicants) and force all above twelve and thirteen years of age to come to Confession in the Lent. They are very formall also in observing *Romes* Munday, Thursday, and good-Friday, and then they make their monuments and sepulchers, wherein they set their Sacrament, and watch it all day and night, placing before it a Crucifix on the ground, with two basins on each side to hold the single or double Rials, which every one must offer when he cometh creeping upon his knees, and bare-footed to kisse Christs hands, feet, and side. The candles which for that day and night and next morning are burned at the Sepulchre are bought with another Contribution-Riall, which is gathered from house to house from every *Indian* for that purpose. Their Religion is a dear and lick-penny religion for such poor *Indians*, and yet they are carried along in it formally and perceive it not. They are taught that they must remember the souls in Purgatory, and therefore that they must cast their Almes into a Chest, which standeth for that purpose in their Churches, whereof the Priest keepeth the key, and openeth it when he wanteth money, or when he pleaseth. I have often opened some of those chests, and have found in them many single Rials, some halfe pieces of eight, and some whole pieces of eight. And because what is lost and found in the high-wayes, must belong to some body, if the true owner be not known, they have been taught that such monies or goods belong also to the souls departed; wherefore the *Indians* (surely more for fear or vanities sake that they may be well thought on by the Priest) if they find any thing lost will bestow it upon the soules surer then the *Spaniards* themselves (who if they find a purse lost will keep it,) and will bring it either to the Priest or cast it into the Chest. An *Indian* of *Mixco* had found a Patacon or piece of eight in a high-way, and when he came to Confession, he gave it unto me telling me he durst not keep it, lest the souls should appear unto him, and demand it. So upon the second day of *November* which they call All-soules day, they are extraordinary foolish and superstitious in offering monies, fowles, egs and Maiz, and other commodities for the souls good, but it proves for the profit of the Priest, who after Masse wipes away to his chamber all that which the poor gulled and deluded *Indians* had offered unto those souls, which needed neither money, food, nor any other provision, and he fils his purse, and pampers his belly with it. A Fryer that lived in *Petapa* boasted unto me once that upon their All-soules day, his offerings had been about a hundred Rials, two hundred Chickens and fowls, half a dozen Turkeyes, eight bushels of Maiz, three hundred egs, four fontles of Cacao, (every fontle being four hundred granes) twenty clusters of plantins, above a hundred wax-candles, besides some loaves of bread, and other trifles of fruits. All which being summed up according

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to the price of the things there, and with conſideration of the coyn of mony there (half a Riall, or three pence being there the leaſt coin) mounts to above eight pounds of our money, a fair and goodly ſtipend for a Maſſe, brave wages for half an hours work; a politick ground for that Error of Purgatory, if the dead bring to the living Prieſt ſuch wealth in one day only. Chriſtmas day with the reſt of thoſe holy daies is no leſſe ſuperſtitiouſly obſerved by theſe *Indians*; for againſt that time they frame and ſet in ſome corner of their Church a little thatched houſe like a ſtall, which they call *Bethlehem*, with a blazing Star over, pointing it unto the three Sage wiſe men from the Eaſt; within this ſtall they lay in a Crib, a child made of wood, painted and guilded (who repreſents Chriſt new borne unto them) by him ſtands *Mary* on the one ſide, and *Joſeph* on the other, and an Aſſe likewiſe on the one ſide and an Oxe on the other, made by hands, the three wiſe men of the Eaſt kneel before the Crib offering gold, Frankincenſe and Myrrhe, the ſhepheards ſtand aloof off offering their Countrey gifts, ſome a Kid, ſome a Lambe, ſome Milk, ſome Cheeſe and Curds, ſome fruits, the fields are alſo there repreſented with flocks of Sheep and Goats; the Angels they hang about the ſtall ſome with Vials, ſome with Lutes, ſome with Harps, a goodly mumming and ſilent ſtage play, to draw thoſe ſimple ſouls to look about, and to delight their ſenſes and fantaſies in the Church.

There is not an *Indian* that cometh to ſee that ſuppoſed *Bethlehem*, (and there is not any in the Town but doth come to ſee it) who bringeth not either money or ſomewhat elſe for his offering. Nay the policy of the Prieſts hath been ſuch, that (to ſtir up the *Indians* with their Saints example) they have taught them to bring their Saints upon all the holy dayes, untill Twelfth day in Proceſſion unto this *Bethlehem* to offer their gifts, according to the number of the Saints that ſtand in the Church, ſome daies there come five, ſome daies eight, ſome daies ten, dividing them into ſuch order, that by Twelfth day all may have come and offered, ſome mony, ſome one thing, ſome another; The owner of the Saint, he cometh before the Saint with his friends and kindred (if there be no ſodality or company belonging unto that Saint) and being very well apparelled for that purpoſe, he bowes himſelf and kneels to the Crib, and then riſing takes from the Saint what he bringeth and leaveth it there, and ſo departs. But if there be a ſodality belonging to the Saint, then the Mayordomo's or chief Officers of that company they come before the Saint, and do homage, and offer as before hath been ſaid. But upon Twelfth day the Alcaldes, Maiors, Jurates, and other Officers of Juſtice, muſt offer after the example of the Saints, and the three Wiſe men of the Eaſt (whom the Church of *Rome* teacheth to have been Kings) becauſe they repreſent the Kings power and authority. And all theſe daies they have about the Town and in the Church a dance of Shepheards, who at Chriſtmas Eve at midnight begin before this *Bethlehem*, and then they muſt offer a ſheep amongſt them. Other dance clothed like Angels and with wings, and all to draw the people more to ſee ſights in the Church, then to worſhip God in Spirit and in Truth. Candlemas day is no leſſe ſuperſtitiouſly obſerved; for then the picture of *Mary* comes in proceſſion to the Altar, and offereth up her Candles and Pigeons, or Turtle-Doves unto the Prieſt, and all the Town muſt imitate her example, and bring their Candles to be bleſſed and hallowed; of four or five, or as many as they bring, one only ſhall be reſtored back unto them, becauſe they are bleſſed, all the reſt are for the Prieſt, to whom the *Indians* reſort after to buy them, and give more then ordinary, becauſe they are hallowed Candles. At Whitſuntide they have another ſight, and that is in the Church alſo, whilſt a Hymne is ſung of the Holy Ghoſt, the Prieſt ſtanding before the Altar with his face turned to the people, they have a device to let fall a Dove from above over his head well dreſſed with flowers, and for above half an hour, from holes made for that purpoſe, they drop down flowers about the Prieſt ſhewing the gifts of the Holy Ghoſt to him, which example the ignorant and ſimple *Indians* are willing to imitate, offering alſo their gifts unto him. Thus all the year are thoſe Prieſts and Fryers deluding the poor people for their ends, enriching themſelves with their gifts, placing Religion in meer Policy; and thus doth the *Indians* Religion conſiſt more in ſights, ſhewes and formalities, then in any true ſubſtance. But as ſweet meat muſt have ſowre ſawce; ſo this ſweetneſſe and pleaſing delight of ſhewes in the Church hath its ſowre ſawce once a year (beſides the ſowreneſſe of poverty which followeth to them by giving ſo many gifts unto the Prieſt) for, to ſhew that in their Religion there is ſome bitterneſſe and ſowreneſſe,

they

they make the *Indians* whip themſelves the week before Eaſter, like the *Spaniards*, which thoſe ſimples both men and women perform with ſuch cruelty to their own fleſh, that they butcher it, mangle and tear their backs, till ſome ſwound, nay ſome (as I have known) have died under their own whipping, and have ſelfe murthered themſelves, which the Prieſts regard not, becauſe their death is ſure to bring them at leaſt three or four Crownes for a Maſſe for their ſoules, and other offerings of their friends.

Thus in Religion they are ſuperſtitiouſly led on, and blinded in the obſervance of what they have been taught more for the good and profit of their Prieſts, then for any good of their ſouls, not perceiving that their Religion is a Policy to inrich their teachers. But not only do the Fryers and Prieſts live by them and eat the ſweat of their browes; but alſo all the *Spaniards*, who not only with their work and ſervice (being themſelves many given to idleneſſe) grow wealthy and rich; but with needleſſe offices, and authority are ſtill fleecing them, and taking from them that little which they gain with much hardneſſe and ſeverity.

The Preſident of *Guatemala*, the Judges of that Chancery, the Governours and High Juſtices of other parts of the Countrey, that they may advance and inrich their meniall ſervants, make the poor *Indians* the ſubject of their bountifulneſſe towards ſuch. Some have offices to viſit as often as they pleaſe their Towns, and ſo ſee what every *Indian* hath ſowed of Maiz, for the maintenance of his wife and children; Others viſite them to ſee what fowles they keep for the good and ſtore of the Countrey; others have order to ſee whether their houſes be decently kept and their beds orderly placed according to their Families; others have power to call them out to mend and repair the high wayes, and others have Commiſſion to number the Families and Inhabitants of the ſeverall Towns, to ſee how they increaſe, that their Tribute may not decreaſe, but ſtill be raiſed. And all this, thoſe officers do never perform but ſo, that for their pains they muſt have from every *Indian* an allowance to bear their charges, (which indeed are none at all) for as long as they ſtay in the Town, they may call for what fowles and proviſion they pleaſe without paying for it. When they come to number the Towns, they call by liſt every *Indian* and cauſe his children, ſonnes and daughters to be brought before them, to ſee if they be fit to be married; and if they be of growth and age, and be not married, the fathers are threatned for keeping them unmarried, and as idle lives the Town without paying tribute; and according to the number of the ſonnes and daughters that are marriageable, the Fathers tribute is raiſed and increaſed, untill they provide husbands and wives for their ſons and daughters, who as ſoon as they are married, are charged with tribute; which that it may increaſe, they will ſuffer none above fifteen yeers of age to live unmarried, Nay the ſet time of age of marriage appointed for the *Indians*, is at fourteen years for the man, and thirteen for the woman, alleadging that they are ſooner ripe for the fruit of Wedlock, and ſooner ripe in knowledge and malice, and ſtrength for work and ſervice, then are any other people. Nay ſometimes they force them to marry who are ſcarce twelve and thirteen years of age, if they find them well limbed, and ſtrong in body, explicating a point of one of *Romes* Canons, which alloweth fourteen and fifteen years, *niſi malitia ſuppleat ætatem.* When I my ſelf lived in *Pinola*, that Town by order of *Don Juan de Guzman*, (a great Gentleman of *Guatemala*, to whom it belonged) was numbred, and an increaſe of tributary *Indians* was added unto it by this means. The numbring it laſted a full week, and in that ſpace was commanded to joyn in marriage neer twenty couple, which, with thoſe that before had been married ſince the laſt numbring of it, made up to the Encomendero or Lord of it an increaſe of about fifty Families. But it was a ſhame to ſee how young ſome were that at that time were forced to marriage, neither could all my ſtriving and reaſoning prevail to the contrary, nor the producing of the Regiſter Book to ſhew their age, but that ſome were married of between twelve and thirteen years of age, and one eſpecially who in the Regiſter book was found to be not fully of twelve years, whoſe knowledge and ſtrength of body was judged to ſupply the want of age. In this manner even in the moſt free act of the will, (which ought to be in marriage) are thoſe poor *Indians* forced and made ſlaves by the *Spaniards*, to ſupply with tribute the want of their purſes, and the meanneſſe of their Eſtates. Yet under this yoke and burden they are cheerfull, and much given to feaſting, ſporting and dancing, as they particularly ſhew in the chief feaſts of their Townes, which are kept

upon

upon that Saints day to whom their Town is dedicated. And certainly this superstition hath continued also in *England* from the Popish times, to keep Faires in many of our Towns upon Saints dayes (which is the intent of the Papists to draw in the people and Country by way of commerce and trading one with another, to honor, worship, and pray to that Saint to whom the Town is dedicated) or else why are our Faires commonly kept upon *John Baptist*, *James*, *Peter*, *Matthew*, *Bartholomew*, *Holy Rood*, *Lady* days, and the like, and not as well a day or two before, or a day or two after, which would be as good and fit dayes to buy and sell, as the other? True it is, our Reformation alloweth not the worshipping of Saints, yet that solemn meeting of the people to Fairs and mirth, and sport upon those dayes it hath kept and continued, that so the Saints and their dayes may be and continue still in our remembrance. There is no Town in the *India's* great or small (though it be but of twenty families) which is not dedicated thus unto our Lady or unto some Saint, and the remembrance of that Saint is continued in the mindes not only of them that live in the Town, but of all that live far and near by commercing, trading, sporting and dancing, offering unto the Saint, and bowing, kneeling, and praying before him. Before this day cometh, the *Indians* of the Town two or three Monthes have their meetings at night, and prepare themselves for such dances as are most commonly used among them; and in these their meetings they drinke much both of Chocolatte and Chicha. For every kind of dance they have severall houses appointed, and masters of that dance, who teach the rest that they may be perfected in it against the Saints day. For the most part of these two or three months the silence of the night is unquieted, what with their singing, what with their hollowing, what with their beating upon the shels of fishes, what with their Waits, and what with their piping. And when the feast cometh, then they act publickly, and for the space of eight dayes, what privately they had practised before. They are that day well apparelled with silkes, fine linnen, ribbands and feathers according to the dance; which first they begin in the Church before the Saint, or in the Church yard, and from thence all the *Octave*, or eight dayes they go from house to house dancing, where they have Chocolatte or some heady drink or Chicha given them. All those eight dayes the Town is sure to be full of drunkards; and if they be reprehended for it; they will answer, that their heart doth rejoyce with their Saint in heaven, and that they must drink unto him, that he may remember them. The chief dance used amongst them is called Toncontin, which hath been danced before the King of *Spain*, in the Court of *Madrid* by *Spaniards*, who have lived in the *India's* to shew unto the King somewhat of the *Indians* fashions; and it was reported to have pleased the King very much. This dance is thus performed. The *Indians* commonly that dance it (if it be a great Town) are thirty or forty, or fewer, if it be a small Town. They are clothed in white, both their doublets, linnen drawers, and Aiates, or towels, which on the one side hang almost to the ground. Their drawers and Aiates are wrought with some workes of Silke, or with birds, or bordered with some Lace. Others procure doublets and drawers and Aiates of Silke, all which are hired for that purpose. On their backs they hang long tuffes of feathers of all colours, which with glew are fastned into a little frame made for the purpose, and guilded on the outside; this frame with Ribbands they tie about their shoulders fast that it fall not, nor slacken with the motion of their bodies. Upon their heads they wear another lesse tuffe of Feathers either in their hats, or in some guilded or painted head-piece, or helmet. In their hands also they carry a fan of feathers, and on their feet most will use feathers also bound together like short wings of birds; some wear shooes, some not. And thus from top to toe they are almost covered with curious and coloured feathers. Their Musick and tune to this dance is only what is made with a hollow stock of a tree, being rounded, and well pared within and without, very smooth and shining, some four times thicker then our viols, with two or three long clefts on the upper side and some holes at the end which they call *Tepanabaz*. On this stock (which is placed upon a stool or fourm in the middle of the *Indians*) the Master of the dance beates with two sticks, covered with wooll at the ends, and a pitched leather over the wooll that it fall not away. With this Instrument and blowes upon it (which soundeth but dull and heavy, but somewhat loud) he giveth the dancers their severall tunes, and changes, and signes of the motion of their bodies either straight or bowing, and giveth them warning what and when they are to sing. Thus they dance in compasse and

circle

circle round about that inſtrument, one following another ſometimes ſtraight, ſometimes turning about, ſometimes turning half way, ſometimes bending their bodies and with the feathers in their hands almoſt touching the ground, and ſinging the life of that their Saint, or of ſome other. All this dancing is but a kind of walking round, which they will continue two or three whole hours together in one place, and from thence go and perform the ſame at another houſe.

This Toncontin the chief and principall only of the Town do dance it; It was the old dance which they uſed before they knew Chriſtianity, except that then, in ſtead of ſinging the Saints lives, they did ſing the praiſes of their heatheniſh Gods. They have another kind of dance much uſed, which is a kind of hunting out ſome wild Beaſt (which formerly in time of Heatheniſme was to be ſacrificed to their Gods) to be offered unto the Saint. This dance hath much variety of tunes, with a ſmall Tepanabaz, and many ſhels of Tortoi's, or in ſtead of them with pots covered with leather, on which they ſtrike as on Tepanabaz, and with the ſound of pipes; in this dance they uſe much hollowing and noiſe and calling one unto another, and ſpeaking by way of Stage play, ſome relating one thing, ſome another concerning the Beaſt they hunt after; theſe dancers are all clothed like Beaſts, with painted skins of Lions, Tigers, Wolves, and on their heads ſuch headpieces as may repreſent the heads of ſuch Beaſts, and other weare painted heads of Eagles or Fowles of rapine, and in their hands they have painted Staves, Bils, Swords and Axes, wherewith they threaten to kill that Beaſt they hunt after. Others in ſtead of hunting after a Beaſt, hunt after a man, as Beaſts in a wilderneſſe ſhould hunt a man to kill him. This man that is thus hunted after muſt be very nimble and agil, as one flying for his life, and ſtriking here and there at the Beaſts for his defence, whom at laſt they catch and make a prey of. As the Toncontin conſiſts moſt of walking and turning and leaſurely bending their bodies, ſo this dance doth wholly conſiſt in action, running in a circle round, ſometimes out of circle, and leaping and ſtriking with thoſe tooles and inſtruments which they have in their hand. This is a very rude ſport, and full of ſcrieching and hideous noiſe, wherein I never delighted. Another *Mexican* dance they uſe, ſome clothed like men, others like women, which in Heatheniſh times they did uſe with ſinging praiſes unto their King or Emperour; but now they apply their ſongs unto the King of Glory, or unto the Sacrament, uſing theſe or commonly the like words with very little difference, and ſome variety of praiſe,

Salid Mexicanas, bailad Toncontin.
Canſalas galanas en cuerpo gentil. And again,
Salid Mexicanas bailad Toncontin.

Al Rey de la gloria tenemos aqui. Thus they go round dancing, playing in ſome places very well upon their Guitarres, repeating now and then all together a verſe or two, and calling the *Mexican* Dames to come out to them with their gallant mantles to ſing praiſe unto their King of Glory. Beſides theſe they have, and uſe our Morris dances, and Blackmore dances with Sonajas in their hands, which are a round ſet of ſmall Morris dancing bels, wherewith they make variety of ſounds to their nimble feet. But the dance which doth draw to it the peoples wondering is a Tragedy acted by way of dance, as the death of St. *Peter*, or the beheading of *John* the *Baptiſt*. In theſe dances there is an Emperour, or a King *Herod* with their Queens clothed, another clothed with a long looſe Coat who repreſents St. *Peter*, or *John* the *Baptiſt*, who while the reſt danceth walketh amongſt them with a book in his hands, as if he were ſaying his prayers, all the reſt of the Dancers are apparelled like Captains and Souldiers with Swords, Daggers or Holbards in their hands. They dance at the ſound of a ſmall drum and pipes, ſometimes round, ſometimes in length forward, and have and uſe many ſpeeches to the Emperour or King, and amongſt themſelves concerning the apprehending and executing the Saint. The King and Queen ſit ſometimes down to hear their pleading againſt the Saint, and his pleading for himſelf, and ſometimes they dance with the reſt; and the end of their dance is to crucifie St. *Peter* downwards with his head upon a Croſſe, or behead *John* the *Baptiſt*, having in readineſſe a painted head in a diſh, which they preſent unto the King and Queen, for joy whereof they all again dance merrily and ſo conclude, taking down him that acted *Peter* from the Croſſe. The *Indians* that dance this dance moſt of them are ſuperſtitious for what they do, judging as if it were indeed really acted and performed what only is by way of dance repreſented. When I lived amongſt them,

them, it was an ordinary thing for him who in the dance was to act St. *Peter* or *John* the *Baptist*, to come first to Confession, saying they must be holy and pure like that Saint whom they represent, and must prepare themselves to die. So likewise he that acted *Herod* or *Herodias*, and some of the Souldiers that in the dance were to speak and to accuse the Saints, would afterwards come to confesse of that sin, and desire absolution as from bloudguiltinesse. More particular passages of the *Indians* according to my experience of them, I shall in the Chapter following truly relate unto my Reader.

Chap. XX.

Shewing how and why I departed out of Guatemala *to learn the Poconchi language and to live amongst the* Indians, *and of some particular passages and accidents whilest I lived there.*

HAving read in the University of *Guatemala* for three years space a whole course of Arts, and having begun to read part of Divinity, the more I studied and grew in knowledge, and the more I controverted by way of Arguments some Truths and points of Religion, the more I found the Spirit of Truth inlightening me, and discovering unto me the lies, errors, falsities and superstitions of the Church of *Rome*. My conscience was much perplexed and wavering, and I desirous of some good and full satisfaction: which I knew might not be had there; and that to professe and continue in any opinion contrary to the Doctrine of *Rome*, would bring me to the Inquisition, that Rack of tender Consciences, and from thence to no lesse then burning alive, in case I would not recant of what the true Spirit had inspired into me. The point of Transubstantiation, of Purgatory, of the Popes power and authority, of the merit of mans works, of his free will to choose all soul-saving wayes, the sacrifice of the Masse, the hallowing the Sacrament of the Lords Supper unto the lay people, the Priests power to absolve from sin, the worshipping of Saints though with δουλεία, as they call it, and not with λατρεία, and the Virgin *Mary* with a higher degree of worship then that of the Saints, which they call ὑπερδουλεία, the strange lies and blasphemies which they call miracles, recorded in the Legend and lives of their Saints, the infallibility of the Pope, and councell in defining for truth and point of Faith, what in it selfe is false and erroneous; these points especially, with many more of *Romes* policies, and the lewd lives of the Priests, Fryers, Nuns, and those in authority, did much trouble and perplex my conscience, which I knew would be better satisfied if I could returne again to my own Countrey of *England*; where I knew many things were held contrary to the Church of *Rome*, but what particulars they were, I could not tell, not having been brought up in the Protestant Church, and having been sent young over to St. *Omers*. Wherefore I earnestly addressed my self to the Provincial; and to the President of *Guatemala*, for a Licence to come home, but neither of them would yeeld unto it, because there was a strict order of the King and Councell, that no Priest sent by his Majesty to any of the parts of the *India's* to preach the Gospell, should return again to *Spain* till ten years were expired. Hereupon I seeing my self a prisoner, and without hopes for the present of seeing *England* in many years, resolved to stay no more in *Guatemala*, but to go out to learn some *Indian* tongue, and to preach in some of their Towns, where I knew more money might be got to help me home, when the time should come, then if I did continue to live in the Cloister of *Guatemala*. Yet in the mean time I thought it not unfit to write to *Spain* to a friend of mine an *English* Fryer in *San Lucar*, called Fryer *Pablo de Londres* to desire him to obtain for me a License from the Court, and from the Generall of the Order at *Rome*, that I might return unto my Countrey. In this season there was in *Guatemala*, Fryer *Francisco de Moran*, the Prior of *Coban* in the Province of *Vera Paz*, who was informing the President and whole Chancery, how necessary it was that some *Spaniards* should be ayding and assisting him for the discovery

of

of a way from that Countrey unto *Jucatan*, and for the suppressing of such barbarous people and Heathens, as stopped his passage, and did often invade some *Indian* Towns of Christians. This *Moran* (being my speciall friend, and having been brought up in *Spain* in the Cloister of *San Pablo de Valladolid*, where my self was first entred Fryer) was very desirous of my company along with him, for the better bringing into Christianity those Heathens and Idolaters, telling me that doubtlesse in a new Countrey new treasure and great riches was like to be found, whereof no small share and proportion should befall him and me for our pains and adventure. I was not hard to be perswaded, being above all desirous to convert to Christianity a people that had never heard of Christ; and so purposed to forsake that honour which I had in the University, for to make Christ known unto that Heathenish people. The Provinciall was glad to see this my courage, and so with some gifts and money in my purse, sent me with *Moran* to the *Vera Paz* in the company of 50. *Spaniards*, who were appointed by the President to aid and assist us.

When we came to *Coban* we were well refreshed and provided for a hard and dangerous enterprize. From *Coban* we marched to two great Towns of Christians called St. *Peter*, and St. *John*, where were added unto us a hundred *Indians* for our further assistance. From these Towns two daies journey we could travail on Mules safely among Christians and some small villages; but after the two daies we drew near unto the Heathens Frontiers, where there was no more open way for Mules, but we must trust unto our feet. We went up and down Mountains amongst Woods for the space of two daies, being much discouraged with the thickets and hardnesse of the way, and having no hope of finding out the Heathens. In the night we kept watch and guard for fear of enemies, and resolved yet the third day to go forward. In the mountains we found many sorts of fruits and in the bottomes springs and brookes with many trees of Cacao and Achiotte. The third day we went on, and came to a low valley, in the midst whereof ran a shallow river, where we found some *Milpa's* and plantations of Maiz. These were a testimony unto us of some *Indians* not far off, and therfore made us keep together and be in readinesse, if any assault or onset should be made upon us by the Heathens. Whilest we thus travelled on, we suddenly fell upon half a dozen poor cottages, covered with boughs and plantin leaves, and in them we found three *Indian* women, two men and five young children, all naked, who fain would have escaped, but they could not. We refreshed our selves in their poor cottages and gave them of our provision, which at the first they refused to eat, howling and crying and puling, till *Moran* had better incouraged and comforted them, whose language they partly understood. We clothed them and took them along with us, hoping to make them discover unto us some treasure or some bigger plantation. But that day they were so sullen that we could get nothing out of them. Thus we went on, following some tracks which here and there we found of *Indians*, till it was almost evening, and then we did light upon above a dozen cottages more, and in them a matter of twenty men, women, and children, from whom we took some bowes and arrowes, and found there store of plantins, some fish, and wild Venison, wherewith we refreshed our selves. These told us of a great Town two daies journey off, which made us be very watchfull that night. Here I began with some more of our company to be sick and weary, so that the next day I was not able to go any further; whereupon we resolved to set up our quarters there, and to send out some scouts of *Indians* and *Spaniards* to discover the Countrey, who found further more cottages and plantations of Maiz, of Chile, of Turkey beans, and Cotton-wooll, but no *Indians* at all, for they were all fled. Our scouts returned, and gave us some incouragement for the pleasantnesse of the Countrey; but withall wished us to be watchfull and carefull, for that certainly the flight of those *Indians* was a signe that our coming was noised about the Countrey. The next day we purposed to move forward to that plantation which our scouts had discovered, being (as we were informed) safer and more open to foresee any danger ready to befall us. All these plantations lay along by the river, where the sun was exceeding hot, which had caused feavers and a flux in some of us. With much wearinesse and faintnesse I got that day to our journeys end, beginning now to repent me of what I was ingaged in and on foot, and fearing some suddain danger, by reason our coming was now known by the *Indians*. The prisoners we had with us began to tell us of some gold that they did sometimes find in that river, and of a great lake yet

forward, about which did inhabit many thousand *Indians*, who were very warlike, and skilfull in their bows and arrows. The one incouraged some, the other much discouraged the rest, who wished themselves out of those woods and unknown places, and began to murmure against *Moran*, who had been the cause of their ingagement in that great danger. Our night was set, and I and the rest of the sick *Spaniards* went to rest, some upon the bare ground, but my self and others in hamacca's, which are of net-work tied at two posts or trees, and hanging in the air, which with the least stirring of the body, rock one asleep as in a Cradle. Thus I took my rest till about midnight; at which time our watches gave an alarm against our approaching enemies, who were thought to be about a thousand. They came desperately towards us, and when they saw they were discovered, and our drums beat up, and our fowling pieces and muskets began to shoot, they hollowed and cried out with a hideous noise, which uproar and suddain affrightment, added sweat and fear to my feaver. But *Moran* (who came to confesse with me, and to prepare himself for death or for some deadly wound) comforted me, wishing me to fear nothing, and to lie still, for that I could do them no good, and that lesse was my danger then I apprehended, becaus our Souldiers had compassed me about, so that on no side the Heathens could come in, and flie we could not without the losse of all our lives. The skirmish lasted not above an hour, and then our enemies began to flie back. We took ten of them, and in the morning found thirteen dead upon the ground, and of ours five only were wounded, whereof one died the next day.

In the morning our Souldiers began to mutiny and to talke of returning back, fearing a worse and more violent onset that day or the night following, for some of the *Indians* who were taken, told them plainly that if they went not away there would come six or seven thousand against them. They told us further, that they knew well that the *Spaniards* had all the Countrey about except that little portion of theirs, which they desired to enjoy quietly and peaceably, and not to meddle with us, but rather if we would see their Countrey and go through it as friends, they would let us without doing us any hurt; but if we came in a warlike manner to fight and to bring them into slavery, as we had done their neighbours, they were all resolved to die fighting rather then to yeeld. With these words our Souldiers were divided, some with *Moran* were of opinion to try the *Indians*, and to go peaceably through their Countrey till they could come to some Town of *Yucatan*; others were of opinion to fight, others to return back again, considering their weakness against so many thousands of *Indians* as were in the Countrey. But that day nothing was agreed upon, for that we could not stir by reason of the sick and wounded. So we continued there that night, and as the night before much about the same time the enemies came again upon us, but finding us ready and watching for them, they soon fled. In the morning we resolved to return back, and *Moran* sent the Heathens word, that if they would let him go through their Countrey quietly to discover some land of *Yucatan*, he would after a few monthes come peaceably unto them with half a dozen *Indians*, no more, trusting his life upon them; whom he knew if they wronged, all the *Spaniards* in the Countrey would rise up against them, and not leave one alive. They answered that they would entertain him, and any few *Indians* well and willingly; all which *Moran* and they performed according to their agreement the next yeer following.

Thus we returned that day back the same way that we had come, and I began to find my self better, and my feaver to leave me. We carried with us some of those young children which we had taken, to present them unto the President of *Guatemala*. And in *Coban* the Prior *Moran* thought he might first do God good service if he christened those young children, saying that they might become Saints, and that afterwards their prayers might prevail with God for the conversion of their parents and of all that Countrey to Christianity. I could not but oppose this his ignorance, which seemed much like unto that of the Fryers who entred *America* with *Cortez*, and increased after the conquest daily more in number, who boasted to the Emperour, that they had some of them made above thirty thousand *Indians* Christians by baptizing them; which truely they did as sheep are forced to the waters and driven to be washed; so were those first *Indians* by thousands sprinkled (or if I may use their word, baptized) for they were driven by compulsion and force to the rivers, neither were they first principled in any grounds of belief and Christianity, neither themselves believers, nor children

of

of believing and faithfull parents. So would *Moran* christen these children, though I told him that they ought not to partake of that Sacrament and Ordinance of Christ, unlesse they were grounded in articles of Christianity and believed, or were children of believing parents. But as he had been brought up in errours, whereof that Church of *Rome* is a wide and spatious nest, so he would be obstinate in this point against me and the truth, sprinkling with water those children, and naming them with names of Christians. After this he sent them well apparelled to the President of *Guatemala*, who commanded them to be kept, and brought up in the Cloister of the Dominican Fryers.

I remained after this for a while in *Coban*, and in the Towns about, untill such time as the ships came to the Gulfe; whither I went with *Moran* to buy wines, oyle, iron, cloth and such things as the Cloister wanted for the present. At which time there being a frigate ready to depart to *Truxillo* (some occasions drawing *Moran* thither) I took ship with him. We staied not long above a week in that Port (which is a weak one, as the *English* and *Hollanders* taking of it can witnesse) but presently we thought of returning back to *Guatemala* by land through the Countrey of *Comayagua* commonly called *Honduras*. This is a woody and mountainous Countrey, very bad and inconvenient for Travellers, and besides very poor; there the commodities are Hides, *Canna fistula*, and *Zarzaparilla*, and such want of bread, that about *Truxillo* they make use of what they call *Cassave*, which is a dry root, that being eaten dry doth choak, and therefore is soaked in broth, water, wine or Chocolatte, that so it may go down. Within the Countrey, and especially about the City of *Comayagua* (which is a Bishops seat, though a small place of some five hundred inhabitants at the most) there is more store of Maiz by reason of some *Indians*, which are gathered to Towns, few and small. I found this Countrey one of the poorest in all *America*. The chief place in it for health and good living is the valley which is called *Gracias a Dios*, there are some rich farmes of Cattle and Wheat; but because it lieth as neer to the Countrey of *Guatemala* as to *Comayagua*, and on this side the wayes are better then on that, therefore more of that Wheat is transported to *Guatemala* and to the Towns about it, then to *Comayagua* or *Truxillo*. From *Truxillo* to *Guatemala* there are between fourscore and a hundred leagues, which we travelled by land, not wanting in a barren Countrey neither guides nor provision, for the poor *Indians* thought neither their personall attendance, nor any thing that they enjoyed too good for us.

Thus we came again to *Guatemala*, and were by the Fryers joyfully entertained, and by the President highly rewarded, and by the City called true Apostles, because we had ventured our lives for the discovery of Heathens, and opened a way for their conversion, and found out the chief place of their residence, and sent before us those children to the City, who witnessed with being in the Cloister our pains and indevours. *Moran* was so puffed up with the Presidents favour, and the popular applause, that he resolved in *Guatemala* to venture again his life, and, according to that message which he had sent before to the Heathen *Indians*, to enter amongst them in a peaceable way with half a dozen *Indians*. He would fain have had me gone with him; but I considered the hardnesse of the journey, which I thought I should not be able to perform on foot; and also I feared that the *Barbarians* might mutiny against us for those children which we had brought; and lastly I liked not the Countrey, which seemed poor and not for my purpose, to get means sufficient to bring me home to *England*, which was the chiefest thought and desire of my heart for the satisfaction of my conscience, which I found still unquiet. Wherefore I resolved to forsake the company of my friend *Moran*, and to desist from new discoveries of Heathens, and such difficult undertakings, which might endanger my health and life, and at last bring no profit, but only a little vain glory, fame and credit in that Countrey. I thought I might better imploy my time, if I learned some *Indian* tongue neerer to *Guatemala*, where I considered the riches of the Towns, the readinesse of the *Indians*, and their willingnesse to further their Priests wants; and lastly their ignorance in some points of Religion, which I thought I might help and clear with some sound doctrine, and with preaching Christ crucified unto them, and bringing them unto that rock of eternall blisse and salvation. I trusted in my friends so much, that I knew it would not be hard for me to take my choise of any place about *Guatemala*; from whence I might facilitate my return to *England*, and write to *Spain*, and have every year an answer easier then any where else. I opened my

mind unto the Provinciall (who was then at *Guatemala*) and he presently and willingly condescended to my request, and counselled me to learn the *Poconchi* language, (whereof I had already got some grounds in the *Vara Paz*) which is most used about *Guatemala*, and also is much practised in *Vera Paz*, and in the Countrey of *San Salvador*. He promised to send me to the Town of *Petapa*, to learn there the language, with a speciall friend of his named Fryer *Peter Molina*, who was very old, and wanted the help and company of some younger person to ease him in the charge that lay upon him, of so great a Town, and many Travellers that passed that way. The Provinciall, as if he had known my mind, pitched upon my very hearts desire; and thus two weeks before *Midsummer* day I departed from *Guatemala* to *Petapa*, which is six leagues from thence, and there setled my self to learn that *Indian* tongue. The Fryers of those parts that are any way skilfull in the *Indian* languages, have composed Grammars and Dictionaries for the better furthering of others who may supply their places after their decease; but whilest they live are unwilling to teach the languages unto others, left their scholars should after a good and well grounded knowledge of the tongues, supplant their own Masters, and be means of taking from them that great profit which they have by living as Curates in the *Indian* Towns. Yet this old *Molina* considering himself in years, and for his good friends sake the Provinciall, was not unwilling to accept of my company, and to impart unto me what knowledge he had got by many years practice of the *Poconchi* tongue. He gave me therefore a short abstract of all the rudiments belonging unto it, which did consist chiefly of declining Nounes, and conjugating Verbs, (which I easily learned in the first fortnight that I had been with him) and then a Dictionary of *Indian* words, which was all the rest of my study to get without book, untill I was able of my self to preach unto the *Indians*, which with much easinesse I obtained by discoursing and conferring with them, what with my private study I had learned.

After the first six weeks *Molina* writ down for me in the tongue a short exhortation, which he expounded to me, and wished me to learn it without book, which I preached publickly upon the feast of St. *James*. After this he gave me another short exhortation in *Spanish*, to be preached the fifteenth of *August*, which he made me translate into the *Indian* tongue, and he corrected in it what he found amisse, wherewith I was a little more emboldened, and feared not to shew my self in publick to the *Indians*. This practice I continued three or four times untill *Michaelmas*, preaching what with his help I had translated out of *Spanish*, untill I was able to talke with the *Indians* alone, and to make my own Sermons. After *Michaelmas Molina* being not a little vain glorious of what he had done with me, in perfecting me in an unknown tongue in so short a space, which was very little above one quarter of the year, writ unto the Provinciall acquainting him of what pains he had taken with me, and of the good successe of his endevours, assuring him that I was now fit to take a charge of *Indians* upon me, and to preach alone, further desiring him that he would bestow upon me some *Indian* Town and Benefice, where I might by constant preaching practice and further that which with so much facility I had learned. The Provinciall (who had alwayes been my friend) needed not spurs to stir him up to shew more and more his love and kindnesse unto me; but immediately sent me order to go unto the two Towns of *Mixco* and *Pinola*, and to take charge of the *Indians* in them, and to give quarterly an account of what I received thence unto the Cloister of *Guatemala*, unto which all that valley did appertain. All the *Indian* Towns and the Fryers that live in them are subordinate unto some Cloister; and the Fryers are called by their Superiours to give up for the Cloisters use what monies they have spared, after their own and their servants lawfull maintenance. Which order yet in *Peru* is not observed, for there the Fryers who are once beneficed in *Indian* Towns, depend not upon any Cloister, but keep all that they get for themselves, and so receive not from their Cloisters any clothing, or help for their provision, neither give they any account to their Superiours, but keep, clothe and maintain themselves, with what offerings and other duties fall unto them from the *Indians*; which is the cause that the Fryers of *Peru* are the richest in all the *India's*, and live not like Fryers but rather like Lords, and game and Dice publickly without controul. But the Fryers of *Guatemala*, *Guaxaca* and *Mexico*, though they have enough and more then is well suitable to their vow and profession of poverty, yet they enjoy not the liberty of the *Peruan* Fryers in their *Indian* Benefices;

for

for what is over and above their expences, they give to their Superiours, and from them they receive every month a jar of wine, of an Arrobe and a half, and every year a new habit with other clothing. Yet with what I have ſaid I muſt not excuſe the Fryers of *Guatemala* from liberty, and the enjoyment of wealth and riches; for they alſo game and ſport, and ſpend, and fill their bags, and were in their accounts and reckonings to the Cloiſters they might well give up in a year five hundred Crowns beſides their own expences, they give up peradventure three hundred, and uſurpe the reſt for themſelves, and their vain and idle uſes; and trade and traffique under hand with Merchants againſt their vow of poverty.

With this ſubordination therefore (which I have ſhewed) unto the Prior and Cloiſter of *Guatemala*, was I ſent to preach unto the *Indians* of *Mixco* and *Pinola*, from whence for my ſake was removed an old Fryer of almoſt fourſcore years of age, and called to his cloiſter to reſt, who was not able to performe the charge which lay upon him of two Towns, three leagues diſtant one from another. The ſetled means for maintenance which I enjoyed in theſe Towns, and the common offerings and duties which I received from the *Indians* was this. In *Mixco* I was allowed every moneth twenty Crowns, and in *Pinola* fifteen, which was punctually payed by the Alcaldes and Regidores, Maiors and Jurates, before the end of the moneth; for which payment, the Town ſowed a common peece of land with Wheat or Maiz, and kept their book of accounts, wherein they ſet down what crops they yearly received; what monies they took in for the ſale of their Corne, and in the ſame book I was to write down what every month I received from them; which book at the years end they were to preſent to be examined by ſome officer appointed thereunto by the Court of *Guatemala*. Beſides this monthly allowance, I had from the Sodalities of the ſoules in Purgatory every week in each Town two Crownes for a Maſſe; every moneth two Crowns in *Pinola* upon the firſt ſunday of the moneth from the Sodalitie of the Roſary; and in *Mixco* likewiſe every moneth from three Sodalities of the Roſary of the Virgin *Mary*, which were there belonging unto the *Indians*, the *Spaniards*, and the *Black-mores*, two Crowns a peece. Further from two more Sodalities belonging to the *Vera Cruz*, or the Croſſe of Chriſt, every moneth two Crowns a peece. And in *Mixco* from a Sodality of the *Spaniards* belonging to St. *Nicolas de Tolentino*, two Crowns every moneth; And from a Sodality of St. *Blas* in *Pinola* every moneth two more Crowns; and finally in *Mixco* from a Sodality entituled of St. *Jacintho* every moneth yet two Crowns; beſides ſome offerings of either money, fowles, or candles, upon thoſe dayes whereon theſe Maſſes were ſung; all which amounted to threeſcore and nine Crowns a moneth, which was ſurely ſetled and paid before the end of the moneth. Beſides from what I have formerly ſaid of the Saints ſtatues which do belong unto the Churches, and do there conſtantly bring both money, fowles, candles, and other offerings upon their day, unto the Prieſt, the yearly revenues which I had in thoſe two Towns will appear not to have been ſmall; for in *Mixco* there were in my time eighteen Saints Images, and twenty in *Pinola*; which brought unto me upon their day four Crowns a peece for Maſſe and Sermon, and proceſſion, beſides fowles, Turkeys and Cacao, and the offerings before the Saints, which commonly might be worth at leaſt three Crowns upon every Saints day, which yearly amounted to at leaſt two hundred, threeſcore and ſix Crownes. Beſides the Sodalities of the Roſary of the Virgin, (which as I have before ſaid were four, three in *Mixco*, and one in *Pinola*) upon five ſeverall feaſts of the year (which are moſt obſerved by the Church of *Rome*) brought unto me four Crowns, two for the daies Maſſe, and two for a Maſſe the day following, which they call the Anniverſarie for the dead, who had belonged unto thoſe Sodalities, which beſides thoſe daies offerings (which ſometimes were more, ſometimes leſſe) and the *Indians* preſents of fowles and Cacao, made up yearly fourſcore Crowns more. Beſides this, the two Sodalities of the *Vera Cruz* upon two feaſts of the Croſſe; the one upon the fourteenth of *September*, the other upon the third of *May*, brought four Crowns a peece for the Maſſe of the day, and the Anniverſary Maſſe following, and upon every Friday in Lent two Crownes, which in the whole year came to four and fourty Crownes; all which above reckoned, was as a ſure rent in thoſe two Towns. But, ſhould I ſpend time to reckon up what beſides did accidentally fall, would be tedious. The Chriſtmas offerings in both thoſe two Townes, were worth to me when I lived there at leaſt fourty Crowns. Thurſday and Friday offerings be-

fore Easter day were about a hundred Crowns; all Souls day offerings commonly worth fourscore Crowns; and Candlemas day offerings commonly fourty more. Besides what was offered upon the Feast of each Town by all the Countrey which came in, which in *Mixco* one year was worth unto me in Candles and money fourscore Crowns, and in *Pinola* (as I reckoned it) fifty more. The Communicants (every one giving a Riall) might make up in both Towns at least a thousand Rials; and the Confessions in Lent at least a thousand more, besides other offerings of Egges, Hony, Cacao, Fowles, and Fruits. Every Christening brought two Rials, every Marriage two Crowns, every ones dead two Crowns more at least; and some in my time dyed, who would leave ten or twelve Crowns for five or six Masses to be sung for their souls.

Thus are those fools taught that by the Priests singing their souls are delivered from weeping, and from the fire and torments of Purgatory; and thus by singing all the year do those Fryers charme from the poor *Indians* and their Sodalities and Saints an infinite treasure wherewith they inrich themselves and their Cloisters; as may be gathered from what I have noted by my own experience in those two Towns of *Mixco* and *Pinola*, (which were far inferiour yet to *Petapa* and *Amatitlan* in the same Valley, and not to be compared in offerings and other Church duties to many other Towns about that Countrey) which yet yeelded unto me with the offerings cast into the Chests which stood in the Churches for the souls of Purgatory, and with what the *Indians* offered when they came to speak unto me (for they never visit the Priest with empty hands) and with what other Masse stipends did casually come in, the summe of at least two thousand Crowns of *Spanish* money, which might yearly mount to five hundred *English* pounds. I thought this Benefice might be a fitter place for me to live in, then in the Cloister of *Guatemala*, wearying out my brains with points of false grounded Divinity for to get only the applause of the Scholars of the University, and now and then some small profit; which I thought I might look after as well as the rest of my profession, nay with more reason, for that I intended to return to *England*, and I knew I should have little help for so long a journey in leaving there my friends, if so be that I made not my mony my best friend to assist me by Sea and Land. My first indevour was to certifie my self from the Books of Receits and Accounts in the Cloister of *Guatemala*, what reckonings my Predecessor and others before him had given up to the Cloister yearly from *Mixco* and *Pinola*, that I might regulate my self and my expenses so, as to be able to live with credit, and to get thanks from the Cloister by giving more then any before me had given. I found that four hundred Crowns had been the most that my old Predecessour had given yearly in his Accounts; and that before him little more was usually given from those two Towns; Whereupon I took occasion once in discourse with the Prior of *Guatemala* to aske what he would willingly expect from me yearly whilst I lived in those two Towns; to which he replyed that if I upheld for my part the Cloisters usuall and yearly Revenues, giving what my Predecessour had given, he would thank me, and expect no more from me, and that the rest that befell me in those Towns, I might spend it in Books, Pictures, Chocolatte, Mules, and Servants; to which I made reply, that I thought I could live in that Benefice creditably enough, and yet give from it more to the Cloister then ever any other before me had given, and that I would forfeit my continuing there if I gave not to the Cloister every year four hundred and fifty Crowns. The Prior thanked me heartily for it, and told me I should not want for wine, (wishing me to send for it every moneth) nor for clothing, which he would every year once bestow upon me. This I thought would save a great part of my charges, and that I was well provided for as long as I lived in the *India's*. And here I desire that *England* may take notice how a Fryer that hath professed to be a Mendicant, being beneficed in *America*, may live with four hundred pounds a year clear, and some with much more, with most of his cloathing given him besides, and the most charge of his wine supplyed, with the abundance of Fowles, which cost him nothing, and with such plenty of Beef, as yeelds him thirteen pound for three pence? Surely well may he game, buy good Mules, furnish his chamber with hangings, and rich pictures, and Cabinets, yea and fill them with *Spanish* Pistols, and peeces of eight, and after all trade in the Court of *Madrid* for a Mitre and fat Bishoprick, which commonly is the end of those proud worldly and lasie Lubbars.

After

After I was once setled in these my two Towns, my first care was to provide my self of a good Mule, which might soon and easily carry me (as often as occasion called) from the one Town to the other. I soon found out one, which cost me fourscore Crowns, which served my turn very well, to ride speedily the nine miles crosse the Valley, which were between the two Towns. Though my chief study here was to perfect my self in the *Indian* tongue, that I might the better preach unto them, and be well understood; yet I omitted not to search out the Scriptures daily, and to addict my self unto the Word of God, which I knew would profit me more then all those riches and pleasures of *Egypt*, which for a while I saw I must enjoy, till my ten years were fully expired, and Licence from *Rome* or *Spain* granted for me to return to *England*, which I began speedily to solicite by means of one Captain *Isidro de Zepeda*, a *Sevill* Merchant and Master of one of the ships, which came that first year that I was setled in *Mixco* with Merchandize for *Guatemala*; By this Captain (who passed often through the Valley) I writ unto my friends in *Spain* and had answers, though at first to little purpose, which did not a little increase the troubles of my conscience, which were great, and such whereof the wise man said, A wounded Conscience who can bear? My friendship with this Captain *Zepeda* was such, that I broke my mind unto him, desiring him to carry me in his Ship to *Spain*; which he refused to do, telling me the danger he might be in, if complaint should be made to the President of *Guatemala*, and wishing me to continue where I was, and to store my self with mony that I might return with Licence and credit. I resolved therefore with *David* in the 16. *Psal.* and the 8. *v.* to set the Lord alwayes before me, and to choose him for my only comfort, and to relie upon his providence who I knew only could order things for my good, and could from *America* bring me home to the house of Salvation, and to the houshold of Faith; from which I considered my self an exile, and far banished. In the mean time I lived five full years in the two Towns of *Mixco* and *Pinola*. Where I had more occasion to get wealth and mony, then ever any that lived there before me; for the first yeer of my abiding there it pleased God to send one of the plagues of *Egypt* to that Countrey, which was of Locusts, which I had never seen till then. They were after the manner of our Grashoppers, but somewhat bigger, which did flie about in number so thick and infinite that they did truly cover the face of the Sun and hinder the shining forth of the beames of that bright planet. Where they lighted either upon trees or standing Corn, there nothing was expected but ruine, destruction and barrennesse; for the corn they devoured, the leaves and fruits of trees they eat and consumed, and hung so thick upon the branches, that with their weight they tore them from the body. The high waies were so covered with them that they startled the travelling Mules with their fluttering about their head and feet; my eyes were often struck with their wings as I rid along, and much ado I had to see my way, what with a Montero wherewith I was fain to cover my face, what with the flight of them which were still before my eyes.

The Farmers towards the South Sea Coast, cryed out for that their Indigo which was then in grasse, was like to be eaten up; from the Ingenio's of Sugar, the like moan was made, that the young and tender Sugar Canes would be destroyed; but above all grievous was the cry of the husbandmen of the Valley where I lived, who feared that their Corn would in one night be swallowed up by that devouring Legion. The care of the Magistrate was that the Towns of *Indians* should all go out into the fields with Trumpets, and what other instruments they had to make a noise, and so to affright them from those places which were most considerable and profitable to the Common-wealth; and strange it was to see how the loud noise of the *Indians* and sounding of the Trumpets, defended some fields from the fear and danger of them. Where they lighted in the Mountains and High wayes, there they left behind them their young ones, which were found creeping upon the ground ready to threaten with a second years plagues if not prevented; wherefore all the Towns were called with Spades, Mattocks and Shovels to dig long Trenches and therein to bury all the young ones.

Thus with much trouble to the poor *Indians*, and their great pains (yet after much hurt and losse in many places) was that flying Pestilence chased away out of the Countrey to the South Sea, where it was thought to be consumed by the Ocean, and to have found a grave in the waters, whilst the young ones found it in the Land. Yet they were not all so buried, but that shortly some appeared, which not being so many in number as before were with the former diligence soon overcome.

But

But whilſt all this feare was, theſe outcries were made by the Countrey and this diligence performed by the *Indians*, the Prieſts got well by it; for every where Proceſſions were made, and Maſſes ſung for the averting of that Plague. In *Mixco* moſt of the idols were carryed to the field, eſpecially the pictures of our Lady, and that of St. *Nicolas Tolentine*, in whoſe name the Church of *Rome* doth uſe to bleſſe little Breads and Wafers with the Saint ſtamped upon them; which they think are able to defend them from Agues, Plague, Peſtilence, Contagion, or any other great and imminent danger. There was ſcarce any *Spaniſh* Husbandman who in this occaſion came not from the Valley to the Town of *Mixco* with his offering to this Saint, and who made not a vow to have a Maſſe ſung unto Saint *Nicholas*; they all brought breads to be bleſſed, and carryed them back to their Farmes, ſome caſting them into their Corn, ſome burying them in their hedges and fences, ſtrongly truſting in Saint *Nicolas*, that his bread would have power to keep the Locuſt out of their fields; and ſo at the laſt thoſe ſimple, ignorant and blinded ſoules, when they ſaw the Locuſts departed and their Corn ſafe, cried out to our Lady ſome, others to Saint *Nicolas*, Milagro, a Miracle, judging the Saint worthy of praiſe more then God, and performing to him their vows of Maſſes, which in their fear and trouble they had vowed, by which erroneous and Idolatrous devotion of theirs I got that year many more Crowns then what before I have numbred from the Sodalities. The next year following, all that Countrey was generally infected with a kind of contagious ſickneſſe, almoſt as infectious as the Plague, which they call Tabardillo, and was a Feaver in the very inward parts and bowels, which ſcarce continued to the ſeventh day, but commonly took them away from the world to a grave the third or fifth day. The filthy ſmell and ſtench which came from them, which lay ſick of this diſeaſe, was enough to infect the reſt of the houſe, and all that came to ſee them; It rotted their very mouths and tongues, and made them as black as a coal before they died. Very few *Spaniards* were infected with this Contagion; but the *Indians* generally were taken with it. It was reported to have begun about *Mexico*, and to have ſpread from Town to Town, till it came to *Guatemala*, and went on forwards; and ſo likewiſe did the Locuſts the year before, marching as it were from *Mexico* over all the Countrey. I viſited many that died of this infection, uſing no other Antidote againſt it, ſave only a handkercheif dipped in Vineger to ſmell unto, and I thanke God I eſcaped where many died. In *Mixco* I buried ninety young and old; and in *Pinola* above an hundred; and for all theſe that were eight year old, or upwards, I received two Crowns for a Maſſe for their ſouls delivery out of Purgatory. See good Reader, whether the conceit of Purgatory have not been a main policy of *Rome* to enrich the Prieſt and Clergy, with Maſſe ſtipends from ſuch as die, making them beleeve that nothing elſe can helpe their ſouls if once plunged into that conceited fire; Where thou maiſt ſee that one contagious ſickneſſe in two ſmall Towns of *Indians* brought unto me in leſſe then half a year near a hundred pounds for Maſſes, for almoſt two hundred that died. Nay ſuch is the greedy covetouſneſſe of thoſe Prieſts, that they will receive three or four Maſſe ſtipends for one day, making the people believe that the ſame Maſſe may be offered up for many, and do one ſoul as much good as another. Thus with the Plague of Locuſts, and the contagion of ſickneſſe, for the firſt two years together had I an occaſion to enrich my ſelf, as did other Prieſts my neighbours. But think not that becauſe ſo many died, therefore the Towns growing leſſe my offerings for the future were leſſened. The Encomendero's or Lords of the two Towns took care for that, who, that they might not loſe any part of that Tribute which was formerly paid unto them, preſently after the ſickneſſe was ceaſed, cauſed them to be numbred, and (as I have in the Chapter before obſerved) forced to marriage all that were twelve years and upwards of age; which alſo was a new ſtreame of Crowns flowing into my bags; for from every couple that were married I had alſo two Crowns beſides other offerings, and in both the Towns, I married on that occaſion above fourſcore Couple. Truly by all this, I thank the Lord, I was more ſtrengthened in my conceit againſt the Church of *Rome*, and not with that greedineſſe of that Lucre intiſed to continue in it, though I found the preferments there farre greater then any might be in the Church of *England*, where I knew nothing was to be got with ſinging, or hudling over a Maſſe; But yet though for the preſent my profit was great, my eyes were open to ſee the errours whereby that profit came ſo plentifully to me, and to all that crew of Idola-

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trous Priests. The judgements ceased not here in that Countrey in my time; but after this contagion there was such an Inundation of rain that the husbandmen feared again the losse of all their Corn. At noon time the darke clouds for a moneth together began to thicken and cover the face of the Heavens, powring down such stormy showres as swept away much Corn, and many poor Cottages of *Indians*; besides the rain, the fiery thunderbolts breaking through the clouds threatned a dolefull judgement to the Countrey. In the valley of *Mixco* two riding together were stricken dead from their Mules, the Chappel of our Lady of *Carmel* in the same valley was burnt to the ground, and likewise two houses at the river of *Vacas*. In *Petapa* another flash of lightning, or thunderbolt fell into the Church upon the high Altar, cracking the wals in many places, running from Altar to Altar, defacing all the gold, and leaving a print and stamp where it had gone without any more hurt. In the Cloister of the Franciscans in *Guatemala*, a Fryer sleeping upon his bed after dinner, was stricken dead, his body being left all black as if it had been burnt with fire, and yet no signe of any wound about him. Many accidents happened that year which was 1632. all about the Countrey. But my self was by the safe protection of the Almighty wonderfully saved; for being on a Saturday at night in *Mixco* trembling and fearing, and yet trusting in my God, and praying unto him in my chamber, one flash of lightning or thunderbolt fell close to the Church wall to which my chamber joyned, and killed two Calves, which were tied to a post in a yard, to be slaughtered the next morning. The lightning was so neer and terrible that it seemed to have fired all my house, and struck me down unto the ground, where I lay as dead for a great while; when I came again to my self, I heard many *Indians* about my house, who were come to see if either it or the Church were set on fire. This stormy season brought me also much profit, for (as formerly) the *Spaniards* of the valley and the *Indians* betook themselves to their Idol Saints carrying them about in procession, which was not done without money, which they call their almes unto their Saints, that they may the better be heard and intreated by them.

The Summer following there was more then the ordinary earthquakes, which were so great that year in the Kingdome of *Peru*, that a whole City called *Truxillo* was swallowed up by the earth which opened it selfe, and almost all the people were lost, whilst they were at Church worshipping and praying unto their Saints. The hurt they did about *Guatemala* was not so much as in other places, only some few mud wals were shaken down, and some Churches cracked; which made the people fear and betake themselves again to their Saints, and empty their purses before them for Masses and processions, lest the danger should prove as great, as was that of the great earthquake which happened before my coming into that Countrey. These earthquakes when they begin are more often then long, for they last but for a while, stirring the earth with three motions, first on the one side, then on the other, and with the third motion they seem to set it right again. If they should continue, they would doubtlesse hurle down to the ground any steeple or building though never so great and strong. Yet at this time in *Mixco* some were so violent, that they made the steeple bend so much that they made the bels sound. I was so used unto them that many times in my bed I would not stir for them. Yet this year they brought me to such a fear, that had not the Lord been a present refuge to me in time of trouble, I had utterly been undone. For being one morning in my chamber studying, so great and suddain was an earthquake, that it made me run from my table to a window, fearing that before I could get down the stairs, the whole house might fall upon my head, the window was in a thick wall vaulted upwards like an arch (which the *Spaniards* hold to be the safest place if a house should fall) where I expected nothing but death; as soon as I got under it, the earthquake ceased, though my heart ceased not to quake with the suddain affrightment. Whilst I was musing and thinking what to do, whether I should run down to the yard, or continue where I was, there came a second shaking worse then the first. I thought with my self if the house should fall, the Arch would not save my life, and that I should either be stifled or thrown out of the window, which was not very low and neer unto the ground, but somewhat high, wide, open, having no glasse casements but woodden shuts, (such as there are used) and if I leaped out of the window, I might chance to break a leg, or a limbe, yet save my life. The suddainnesse of the astonishment took from me the best and most mature deliberation

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in such a case; and in the midst of these my troubled and perplexed thoughts a third motion came as violent as the former, wherewith I had now set one foot in the window to leap down, had not the same Lord (to whom *David* said in the 46. *Psal. v.* 2. Therefore will not we fear, though the earth be moved) by his wonderfull providence spoken both to me and to the moving earth, saying as in the 10. *vers.* Be still and know that I am God; for certainly had it gone on to a fourth motion, I had by casting down my self broke either my neck, or a legge, or some other joynt. Thus was I twice saved by my good God in *Mixco*, and in *Pinola* I was once no lesse in danger in losing a legge by means of a smaller instrument then is a flea.

This Town of *Pinola* in the *Indian* language is called *Pancac*; *Pan*, signifieth in, or amongst, *Cac*, signifieth three things; for it signifieth the fire, or a fruit otherwise called *guiava*; or thirdly, a small vermine, commonly called by the *Spaniards*, *Nigua*; which is common over all the *India's*, but more in some places then in others. Where there are many Hogs, there is usually much of this sort of vermine. The *Spaniards* report that many of the Souldiers of Sir *Francis Drake* died of them, when they landed about *Nombre de Dios*, and marched up the high Mountains of St. *Pabla* towards *Panama*, who feeling their feet to itch, and not knowing the cause thereof, scratched them so much, till they festred, and at last, (if this report be true) cost them their lives. Some say, they breed in all places, high and low, upon Tables, Beds, and upon the ground; but experience sheweth the contrary, that they only breed upon the ground, for where the houses are sluttish, and not often swept, there commonly they are most felt; and in that they usually get into the Feet and Shooes, and seldome into the hands or any other part of the body, argues that they breed upon the ground. They are lesse then the least flea, and can scarce be perceived, and when they enter into the Foot, they make it burn and itch; and if then they be looked to, they appeare black, and no bigger then the point of a pin, and with a pin may easily be taken out whole; but if part of them be left, the smallest part will do as much harm as the whole, and will get into the flesh. When once they are got in, they breed a little bagge in the flesh, and in it a great many Nits, which increase bigger and bigger to the bignesse of a great Pea; then they begin again to make the foot itch, which if it be scratched, falleth to festering, and so indangereth the whole foot. Some hold it best to take them out when they cause the first itching and are getting in, but this is hard to do, because they can hardly then be perceived, and they are apt to be broken. Therefore others commonly let them alone, untill they be got into the flesh, and have bred a bag with nits, which like a blister sheweth it self through the skinne, and then with the point of a pin, they dig round about the bag, till they can with the pins point take it out whole, if it be broken, it comes to breed again; if it be taken out whole, then they put in a little Eare wax, or ashes were the bag lay, and with that the hole is healed up again in a day or two. The way to avoid this vermines entring into the foot, is to lay both shooes and stockings, or whatsoever other clothing upon some stool or chair high from the ground, and not to go bare-foot; which yet is wonderfull in the *Indians* themselves, that though they commonly do go bare-foot, yet they are seldome troubled with them, which is attributed to the hardnesse of their skin; for certainly were they as tender footed and skinned as are those that wear both shooes and stockins, they would be as much troubled with them as these are. *Pancac* or *Pinola*, is much subject to this Vermin, or *Nigua*, and I found it by wofull experience, for at my first coming thither not knowing well the quality of it, I let one breed so long in my foot, and continued scratching it, untill my foot came to be so festered, that I was fain to lie two whole months in a Chirurgions hand, and at last through Gods great mercy and goodnesse to me I lost not a Limbe. But that the Providence of God may be known to me the worst of all his Creatures, living in so far a Countrey from all my friends, and from me may be related unto future Generations, before I conclude this Chapter, I shall further shew both my dangers and deliverances. Though true it is, most of the *Indians* are but formally Christians, and only outwardly appear such, but secretly are given to witchcraft and idolatry, yet as they were under my charge, I thought by preaching Christ unto them, and by cherishing them, and defending them from the cruelty of the *Spaniards*, I might better work upon them to bring them to more knowledge of some truths, at least concerning God and Christ. Therefore as I found them truely loving, kind and bountifull unto me, so I indevoured in all occasions to shew them love by commise-

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rating their ſufferings, and taking their part againſt any *Spaniards* that wronged them, and keeping conſtantly in my Chamber ſuch drugs (as hot Waters, Anniſeed and wine and the like) which I knew might moſt pleaſe them, when they came to ſee me, and moſt comfort them, when they were ſick or grieved. This my love and pity towards them had almoſt in *Pinola* coſt me my life; For an *Indian* of that Town ſerving a *Spaniard* named *Franciſco de Montenegro* (who lived a mile and a half from thence) was once ſo pitifully beaten and wounded by his Maſter, for that he told him he would complain to me that he payed him not his wages, that he was brought home to the Town, and had I not out of my charity called for a Chirurgion from *Petapa* to cure him, he had certainly dyed. I could not but complain for the poor *Indian* unto the Preſident of *Guatemala*, who reſpecting my complaint, ſent for my *Spaniard* to the City, impriſoned him, and kept him cloſe untill the *Indian* was recovreed, and ſo with a Fine ſent him back again. In a Sermon further I preſſed this home unto the neighboring *Spaniards*, warning them of the wrongs and abuſes which they offered unto the poor *Indians*, which I told them I would put up no more then any injury done unto my ſelf, for that I looked upon them as Neophytes and new plants of Chriſtianity, who were not to be diſcouraged, but by all means of love encouraged to come to Chriſt; withall I commanded all the *Indians* that had any wrong done unto them, to come unto me, aſſuring them that I would make ſuch a complaint for them as ſhould be heard, as they might perceive I had lately done to ſome purpoſe. This Sermon ſtuck ſo in *Montenegro* his ſtomach, that (as I was informed) he made an Oath, that he would procure my death. Though it was told me; yet I could hardly believe it, judging it to be more a bravery and a vain boaſting of a *Spaniard*, then any thing elſe; Yet by the advice of ſome friends I was counſelled to look to my ſelf, which yet I ſlighted, untill one day the boyes and *Indians* that ſerved in my houſe came running to my chamber door, wiſhing me to look to my ſelfe, and not to come out, for that *Montenegro* was come into my Yard with a naked ſword to kill me. I charged them from within to call the Officers of the Town to aid and aſſiſt me; but in the mean while my furious *Spaniard* perceiving himſelf diſcovered left the Town. With this I thought of ſecuring my ſelf better, and called for a Blackmore *Miguel Dalva* a very ſtout and luſty fellow, who lived from me half a mile, to be about me untill I could diſcover more of *Montenegroes* deſignes and malicious intents. The next Sabbath day in the morning being to ride to the Town of *Mixco*, I carried my Blackmore, and half a dozen of *Indians* in my company, and going through a little wood in the midſt of the Valley, there I found my enemy waiting for me, who ſeeing the train I brought, durſt do nothing, but gave me ſpitefull languages, telling me he hoped that he ſhould find me alone ſome time or other. With this I thought fit to delay no longer my ſecond complaint to the Preſident againſt him, who as before heard me willingly, and after a months impriſonment baniſhed *Montenegro* thirty leagues from the Valley. And not only from *Spaniards* was I in danger for the *Indians* ſake whilſt I lived in thoſe Towns; but alſo from ſome *Indians* themſelves, (who were falſe in Religion) I did undergoe great perils, and yet was ſtill delivered.

In *Pinola* there were ſome, who were much given to witchcraft, and by the power of the Devill did act ſtrange things. Amongſt the reſt there was one old woman named *Martha de Carrillo*, who had been by ſome of the Town formerly accuſed for bewitching many; but the *Spaniſh* Juſtices quitted her, finding no ſure evidence againſt her; with this ſhe grew worſe and worſe, and did much harme. When I was there, two or three died, withering away, declaring at their death that this *Carrillo* had killed them, and that they ſaw her often about their beds, threatning them with a frowning and angry look. The *Indians* for fear of her durſt not complain againſt her, nor meddle with her; whereupon I ſent word unto *Don Juan de Guzman* the Lord of that Town, that if he took not order with her, ſhe would deſtroy his Town. He hearing of it, got for me a Commiſſion from the Biſhop and another officer of the Inquiſition to make diligent and private inquiry after her life and actions; which I did, and found among the *Indians* many and grievous complaints againſt her, moſt of the Town affirming that certainly ſhe was a notorious witch, and that before her former accuſation ſhe was wont whitherſoever ſhe went about the Town to go with a Duck following her, which when ſhe came to the Church, would ſtay at the door till ſhe came out again, and then would return home with her, which Duck they imagined was her beloved Devill, and familiar Spirit, for that they

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had often ſet dogs at her and they would not meddle with her, but rather run away from her. This Duck never appeared more with her, ſince ſhe was formerly accuſed before the Juſtice, which was thought to be her policy, that ſhe might be no more ſuſpected thereby. This old woman was a widow, and of the pooreſt of the Town in outward ſhew, and yet ſhe alwayes haſt ſtore of mony, which none could tell which way ſhe might come by it. Whilſt I was thus taking privy information againſt her (it being the time of Lent, when all the Town came to Confeſſion) ſhe among the reſt came to the Church to confeſſe her ſins, and brought me the beſt preſent and offering of all the Town, for whereas a Riall is common ſhe brought me four, and beſides a Turkey, egs, fiſh, and a little bottle of hony. She thought thereby to get with me a better opinion then I had of her from the whole Town; I accepted of her great offering, and heard her Confeſſion, which was of nothing but trifles, which could ſcarce be judged ſinfull actions. I examined her very cloſe of what was the common judgement of all the *Indians*, and eſpecially of thoſe who dying had declared to my ſelf at their death that ſhe had bewitched them, and before their ſickneſſe had threatned them, and in their ſicknes appeared threatning them with death about their beds, none but they themſelves ſeeing her. To which ſhe replyed weeping, that ſhe was wronged. I asked her, how ſhe being a poor widow without any ſons to help her, without any means of livelyhood had ſo much mony, as to give me more then the richeſt of the Town, how ſhe came by that fiſh, Turkey, and hony, having none of this of her own about her houſe? to which ſhe replyed, that God loved her and gave her all theſe things, and that with her mony ſhe had bought the reſt. I asked her of whom? ſhe anſwered that out of the Town ſhe had them. I perſwaded her much to repentance, and to forſake the Devill and all fellowſhip with him; but her words and anſwers were of a Saintly and holy woman; and ſhe earneſtly deſired me to give her the Communion with the reſt that were to receive the next day. Which I told her I durſt not do, uſing Chriſts words, Give not the childrens bread unto dogs, nor caſt your pearls unto ſwine; and that it would be a great ſcandall to give the Communion unto her, who was ſuſpected generally, and had been accuſed for a witch. This ſhe took very ill, telling me that ſhe had many years received the Communion, and now in her old age it grieved her to be deprived of it; her tears were many, yet I could not be moved with them, but reſolutely denied her the Communion, and ſo diſmiſſed her. At noon when I had done my work in the Church, I bad my ſervants go to gather up the offerings, and gave order to have the fiſh dreſſed for my dinner which ſhe had brought; but no ſooner was it carried into the Kitchen, when the Cook looking on it found it full of maggots, and ſtinking, ſo that I was forced to hurl it away. With that I began to ſuſpect my old witch, and went to look on her hony, and powring it out into a diſh, I found it full of wormes, her egs I could not know from others, there being near a hundred offered that day; but after as I uſed them, we found ſome rotten, ſome with dead chickens within; the next morning the Turkey was found dead; as for her four Rials, I could not perceive whether ſhe had bewitched them out of my pocket, for that I had put them with many other, which that day had been given me, yet as far as I could I called to memory who and what had been given me, and in my judgement and reckoning I verily thought that I miſſed four Rials. At night when my ſervants the *Indians* were gone to bed, I ſat up late in my chamber betaking my ſelf to my books and ſtudy, for I was the next morning to make an exhortation to thoſe that received the Communion. After I had ſtudyed a while, it being between ten and eleven of the clock, on a ſuddain the chief door in the hall (where in a lower room was my chambee, and the ſervants, and three other doors) flew open, and I heard one come in; and for a while walke about; then was another door opened which went into a little room, where my ſaddles were laid; with this I thought it might be the Black-more *Miguel Dalva*, who would often come late to my houſe to lodge there, eſpecially ſince my fear of *Montenegro*, and I conjectured that he was laying up his ſaddle, I called unto him by his name two or three times from within my chamber, but no anſwer was made; but ſuddenly another door that went out to a Garden flew alſo open, wherewith I began within to fear, my joynts trembled, my hair ſtood up, I would have called out to the ſervants, and my voice was as it were ſtopped with the ſudden affrightment, I began to think of the witch, and put my truſt in God againſt her, and encouraged my ſelf and voice, calling out to the ſervants, and knocking with a cane at my

my door within that they might hear me, for I durſt not open it and go out. With the noiſe which I made the ſervants awaked and came out to my chamber door; then I opened it, and asked them if they had not heard ſome body in the hall, and all the doores opened. They ſaid they were aſleep, and heard nothing, only one boy ſaid he heard all, and related unto me the ſame that I had heard. I took my candle then in my hand and went out into the hall with them to view the doors, and I found them all ſhut, as the ſervants ſaid they had left them. Then I perceived that the Witch would have affrighted me, but had no power to do me any harm; I made two of the ſervants lie in my chamber; and went to bed. In the morning early I ſent for my *Fiſcal* the Clerk of the Church, and told him what had happened that night; he ſmiled upon me, and told me it was the widow *Carillo*, who had often played ſuch tricks in the Town with thoſe that had offended her, and therefore he had the night before come unto me from her deſiring me to give her the Communion, leſt ſhe ſhould do me ſome hurt, which I denied unto him, as I had done to her ſelf. The Clerk bad me be of good cheer, for he knew ſhe had no power over me to do me any hurt. After the Communion that day ſome of the chief *Indians* came unto me, and told me that old *Carillo* had boaſted that ſhe would play me ſome trick or other, becauſe I would not give her the Communion. But I to rid the Town of ſuch a limbe of Satan, ſent her to *Guatemala*, with all the evidences and witneſſes which I had found againſt her unto the Preſident and Biſhop, who commanded her to be put in priſon, where ſhe died within two moneths.

Many more *Indians* there were in that Town, who were ſaid in my time to do very ſtrange things. One called *John Gonzalez* was reported to change himſelf into the ſhape of a Lyon, and in that ſhape was one day ſhot in the noſe by a poor harmeleſſe *Spaniard* who chiefly got his living by going about the woods and Mountains, and ſhooting at wild Deer and other beaſts to make money of them. He eſpied one day a Lyon, and having no other aime at him but his ſnout behind a tree, he ſhot at him; the Lyon run away; the ſame day this *Gonzalez* was taken ſick, I was ſent for to hear his Confeſſion, I ſaw his face and noſe all bruiſed, and asked him how it came, he told me then that he had fallen from a tree and almoſt killed himſelf; yet afterwards he accuſed the poor *Spaniard* for ſhooting at him; the buſineſſe was examined by a *Spaniſh* Juſtice, my evidence was taken for what *Gonzalez* told me of his fall from a tree, the *Spaniard* was put to his oath, who ſware that he ſhot at a Lyon in a thick wood, where an *Indian* could ſcarce be thought to have any buſineſſe, the tree was found out in the Wood, whereat the ſhot had been made and was ſtill marked with the ſhot and bullet; which *Gonzalez* confeſſed was to be the place; and was examined how he neither fell nor was ſeen by the *Spaniard*, when he came to ſeek for the Lyon, thinking he had killed him; to which he anſwered that he ran away leſt the *Spaniard* ſhould kill him indeed. But his anſwers ſeeming frivolous, the *Spaniards* integrity being known, and the great ſuſpicion that was in the Town of *Gonzalez* his dealing with the Devill, cleared the *Spaniard* from what was laid againſt him.

But this was nothing to what after happened to one *John Gomez*, the chiefeſt *Indian* of that Town of neer fourſcore years of age, the Head and Ruler of the principalleſt Tribe among the *Indians*, whoſe adviſe and counſell was taken and preferred before all the reſt, who ſeemed to be a very godly *Indian*, and very ſeldome miſſed morning and evening prayers in the Church, and had beſtowed great riches there. This *Indian* very ſuddenly was taken ſick (I being then in my other Town of *Mixco*) the *Mayordomos*, or ſtewards of the Sodality of the Virgin fearing that he might die without Confeſſion and they be chid for their negligence, at midnight called me up at *Mixco*, deſiring me to go preſently and help *John Gomez* to die, whom alſo they ſaid deſired much to ſee me and to receive ſome comfort from me. I judging it a work of charity, although the time of the night were unſeaſonable, and the great rain at the preſent might have ſtopped my charity, yet I would not be hindred by either of them, and ſo ſet forth to ride nine miles both in the dark and wet. When I came to *Pinola* being thorow wet to the skin, I went immediately to the houſe of old ſick *Gomez*, who lay with his face all muffled up, thanked me for my pains and care I had for his ſoul; he deſired to confeſſe, and by his confeſſion and weeping evidenced nothing but a godly life, and a willing deſire to die and to be with Chriſt. I comforted him and prepared him for death, and before I departed, asked him how he felt himſelf; he anſwered that his ſickneſſe was no-

nothing but old age, and weakneſſe. With this I went to my houſe, changed my ſelf and lay down a while to reſt, when ſuddenly I was called up again to give *Gomez* the extreme unction, which the *Indians* (as they have been ignorantly taught) will not omit to receive before they die. As I anointed him in his noſe, his lips, his eyes, his hands and his feet, I perceived that he was ſwelled, and black and blew; but made nothing of it, judging it to proceed from the ſickneſſe of his body; I went again home being now break of the day, when after I had taken a ſmall nap, ſome *Indians* came to my door for to buy candles to offer up for *John Gomez* his ſoul, whom they told me was departed, and was that day to be buried very ſolemnly at Maſſe. I aroſe with drouſie eyes after ſo unquiet a nights reſt; and walked to the Church, where I ſaw the grave was preparing. I met with two or three *Spaniards* who lived neer the Town and were come to Maſſe that morning, who went in with me to my chamber, and with them I fell into diſcourſe about *John Gomez*, telling them what comfort I had received at his death, whom I judged to have lived very holily, and doubted not of his ſalvation, and that the Town would much want him, for that he was their chief guide, and leader, ruling them with good adviſe and counſell. At this the *Spaniards* ſmiled one at another, and told me I was much deceived by all the *Indians*, but eſpecially by the deceaſed *Gomez*, if I judged him to have been a Saint, and holy man. I told them that they as enemies to the poor *Indians* judged ſtill uncharitably of them; but that I who know very well their conſciences, could judge better of them then they. One then replyed, that it ſeemed I little knew the truth of *John Gomez* his death by the Confeſſion which he had made unto me, and that I ſeemed to be ignorant of the ſtir which was in the Town concerning his death. This ſeemed ſo ſtrange unto me, that I deſired them to informe me of the truth. Then they told me that the report went, that *John Gomez* was the chief wizard of all the wizards and witches in the Town, and that commonly he was wont to be changed into the ſhape of a Lyon, and ſo to walke about the mountains. That he was ever a deadly enemy to one *Sebaſtian Lopez* an ancient *Indian*, and head of another Tribe; and that both of them two daies before had met in the mountain, *Gomez* in the ſhape of a Lyon, and *Lopez* in the ſhape of a Tigre, and that they fought moſt cruelly, till *Gomez* (who was the older and weaker) was tired, much bit and bruiſed; and died of it. And further that I might be aſſured of this truth, they told me that *Lopez* was in priſon for it, and the two Tribes ſtriving about it; and that the Tribe and kindred of *Gomez* demanded from *Lopez* and his Tribe and kindred ſatisfaction, and a great ſum of mony, or elſe did threaten to make the caſe known unto the *Spaniſh* power and authority, which yet they were unwilling to do if they could agree and ſmother it up among themſelves, that they might not bring an aſperſion upon their whole Town. This ſeemed very ſtrange unto me, and I could not reſolve what to beleeve, and thought I would never more believe an *Indian*, if I found *John Gomez* to have ſo much diſſembled and deceived me. I took my leave of the *Spaniards* and went my ſelf to the priſon, where I found *Lopez* with fetters. I called one of the officers of the Town, who was Alguazil Maior, and my great friend, unto my houſe, and privately examined him why *Lopez* was kept ſo cloſe priſoner; he was loth to tell me fearing the reſt of the *Indians*, and hoping the buſineſſe would be taken up, and agreed by the two Tribes, and not noiſed about the Countrey, which at that very inſtant the two Alcaldes and Regidores, Maiors and Jurates, with the chief of both Tribes were ſitting about in the Town-houſe all that morning. But I ſeeing the officer ſo timorous, was more deſirous to know ſomething, and preſſed more upon him for the truth, giving him an inkling of what I had heard from the *Spaniards* before. To which he anſwered that if they could agree amongſt themſelves, they feared no ill report from the *Spaniards* againſt their Town; I told him I muſt know what they were agreeing upon amongſt themſelves ſo cloſely in the Town-houſe. He told me, if I would promiſe him to ſay nothing of him (for he feared the whole Town if they ſhould know he had revealed any thing unto me) he would tell me the truth. With this I comforted him, and gave him a cup of Wine, and encouraged him, warranting him that no harm ſhould come unto him for what he told me. Then he related the buſineſſe unto me as the *Spaniards* had done, and told me that he thought the Tribes amongſt themſelves would not agree, for that ſome of *Gomez* his friends hated *Lopez* and all ſuch as were ſo familiar with the Devill, and cared not if *Gomez* his diſſembling life were laid open to the world; but others he ſaid, who

were

were as bad as *Lopez*, and *Gomez*, would have it kept close left they and all the Witches and Wizards of the Town should be discovered. This struck me to the very heart; to think that I should live amongst such people; whom I saw were spending all they could get by their work and labour upon the Church, Saints, and in offerings, and yet were so privie to the counsels of Satan; it grieved me that the Word I preached unto them, did no more good, and I resolved from that time forward to spend most of my indevours against Satans subtility, and to shew them more then I had done, the great danger of their souls who had made any compact with the Devill, that I might make them abandon and abjure his works, and close with Christ by Faith. I dismissed the *Indian*, and went to the Church, to see if the people were come to Masse; I found there no body but only two who were making *Gomez* his Grave. I went back to my Chamber, troubled much within my self, whether I should allow him a Christian Buriall, who had lived and died so wickedly, as I had been informed. Yet I thought I was not bound to believe one *Indian* against him, nor the *Spaniards*, whom I supposed spoke but by hearsay. Whilest I was thus musing, there came unto me at least twenty of the chiefest of the Town with the two Maiors, Jurates, and all the Officers of Justice; who desired me to forbear that day the burying of *John Gomez*; for that they had resolved to call a Crown Officer to view his Corps and examine his death, lest they all should be troubled for him, and be again unburyed. I made as if I knew nothing, but inquired of them the reason; then they related all unto me, and told me how there were witnesses in the Town who saw a Lyon and a Tyger fighting, and presently lost the sight of the beasts, and saw *John Gomez*, and *Sebastian Lopez*, much about the same place parting one from another; and that immediately *John Gomez* came home bruised to his bed, from whence he never rose more; and that he declared upon his death-bed unto some of his friends that *Sebastian Lopez* had killed him; whereupon they had him in safe custody. Further they told me that though they had never known so much wickedness of these two chief heads of their Town whom they had much respected and followed, yet now upon this occasion, from the one Tribe and the other they were certainly informed that both of them did constantly deal with the Devill, which would be a great aspersion upon their Town, but they for their parts abjured all such wicked wayes, and prayed me not to conceive the worse of all for a few, whom they were resolved to persecute, and suffer not to live amongst them. I told them I much liked their good zeal, and incouraged them as good Christians to indevour the rooting out of Satan from their Town, and they did very well in giving notice to *Guatemala*, to the *Spanish* power, of this accident, and that if they had concealed it, they might all have been punished as guilty of *Gomez* his death, and Agents with Satan, and his instruments. I assured them I had no ill conceipt of them, but rather judged well of them for what they were agreed to do. The Crown Officer was sent for who came that night and searched *Gomez* his body; I was present with him, and found it all bruised, scratched and in many places bitten and sore wounded. Many evidences and suspicions were brought in against *Lopez* by the *Indians* of the Town, especiall by *Gomez* his friends, whereupon he was carryed away to *Guatemala*, and there again was tryed by the same witnesses, and not much denying the fact himself, was there hanged. And *Gomez*, though his grave was opened in the Church, he was not buried in it, but in another made ready for him in a Ditch.

In *Mixco* I found also some *Indians* no lesse dissemblers then was this *Gomez*, and those of the chiefest and richest of the Town, who were four Brothers called *Fuentes*, and half a score more. These were outwardly very fair tongued, liberall, and free handed to the Church, much devoted to the Saints, great feasters upon their day, and yet in secret great Idolaters. But it pleased God to make me his instrument, to discover and bring to light the secrecy of their hidden works of darkness, which it seems the privacy of a thick Wood and Mountain had many years hid from the eyes of the World. Some of these being one day in the company of other better Christians drinking hard of their *Chicha*, boasted of their God, saying that he had preached unto them better then I could preach, nay that he had plainly told them that they should not believe any thing that I preached of Christ, but follow the old wayes of their Forefathers, who worshipped their Gods aright, but now by the example of the *Spaniards* they were deluded, and brought to worship a false God. The other Christians hearing of this began to wonder, and to enquire of them where that God was, and with

much ado, promiſing to follow their ways, and their God, got out of them the place and Mountain where they might find him. Though this in drunkenneſſe were agreed upon, yet in ſoberneſſe the good Chriſtians thought better of what they had agreed upon, ſlighted what before in drinking they heard, and yet it was not kept by them ſo cloſe, but that it came to the ears of a *Spaniard* in the Valley; who finding himſelf touched in conſcience, came to *Mixco* to me, and told me what he had heard, that ſome *Indians* of that town followed an Idol, and boaſted that he had preached unto them againſt my Doctrine, and for the wayes of the former Heathens. I thanked God for that he was pleaſed to undermine the ſecret works of Satan daily; and deſired the *Spaniard* to tell me by whom he came to know of this. He told me the *Indians* name from whom he had it, and that he was afraid to diſcover the *Indians* and to tell me of it. I ſent for the *Indian* before the *Spaniard*, who confeſſed unto me that he had heard of ſuch a thing; but knew that if he did diſcover the *Indians*, they with the power of the Devill would do him much harm; I told him, if he were a true Chriſtian, he ought to fight againſt the Devill, and not to fear him, who could do him no harm if God were with him, and he cloſed by Faith with Chriſt, and that the diſcovery of that Idoll might be a means for the converting of the Idolaters, when they ſhall ſee the ſmall power of their falſe God againſt the true God of the Chriſtians. Further I told him plainly, that if he did not tell me who the *Indians* were, and where their Idol was, that I would have him to *Guatemala*, and there make him diſcover what he knew. Here the *Indian* began to tremble, and told me the *Fuentes* had boaſted of ſuch an Idol, whom they called their God, and gave ſome ſignes of a Fountain and of a Pine Tree at the mouth of a Cave in ſuch a Mountain. I asked him, if he knew the place, or what kind of Idol it was; he told me, that he had often been in that Mountain, where he had ſeen two or three ſprings of water, but never was in any Cave. I asked him if he would go with me, and helpe me to find it out, he refuſed ſtill fearing the Idolaters, and wiſhed me not to go, for fear if they ſhould be there, they might kill me rather then be diſcovered. I anſwered him that I would carry with me ſuch a Guard as ſhould be able to defend me againſt them, and my Faith in the true living God, would ſecure me againſt that falſe God. I reſolved therefore with the *Spaniard* to go to ſearch out the cave the next day, and to carry with me three or four *Spaniards* and my Blackmore *Miguel Dalva*, and that *Indian*. I told him I would not ſuffer him to go home to his houſe that day, for fear he ſhould diſcover in the Town my deſign and purpoſe, and ſo we might be prevented by the Idolaters, who certainly that night would take away their Idol. The *Indian* ſtill refuſed, till I threatned him to ſend for the Officers of Juſtice, and to ſecure his perſon; with this he yeelded, and that he might have no diſcourſe with any body in the Town, nor with the Servants of my houſe, I deſired the *Spaniard* to take him home to his houſe, and to keep him there cloſe that day and night, promiſing to be with him the next morning. I charged the *Spaniard* alſo with ſecreſie, and ſo diſmiſſed him with the *Indian*. That day I rid to *Pinola* for the Blackmore *Miguel Dalva*, and brought him to *Mixco* with me, not telling him what my intent was; I went alſo to four neighbouring *Spaniards*, deſiring them to be in a readineſſe the next morning to go a little way with me for the ſervice of God, and to meet me at ſuch a neighbours houſe, and that if they would bring their fowling peeces, we might chance to find ſome ſport where we went, and as for proviſion of Wine and Meat, I would provide ſufficiently. They promiſed to go with me, thinking that although I told them, it was for the ſervice of God, my purpoſe only was to hunt after ſome wild Deer in the Mountains. I was glad they conſtrued my action that way, and ſo went home, and provided that night a good Gammon of Bacon, and ſome Fowles roſted, cold, and others boiled, well peppered and ſalted for the next dayes work. Where I had appointed my *Indian* to be kept, I met with the reſt of my company, and from thence we went together to the place of the Idolaters worſhipping, which was ſome ſix miles from *Mixco* towards the Town of St. *John Sacatepeques*. When we came into the Wood we preſently met with a deep Barranca, or bottome, where was a running, which encouraged us to make there diligent ſearch, but nothing could be found; from thence we aſcended up out of the Barranca, and found after much time ſpent a ſpring of water, and looked carefully about it, but could find no Cave. Thus in vain we ſearched till the Evening, and fearing leſt we might loſe our way and our ſelves, if the night overtook us, my friends began to ſpeak of returning homewards. But I conſidering

dering that as yet we had not gone over one halfe part of the Wood, and to go home and come again might make us to be noted, and ſpoken of, we thought it our beſt way to take up our lodging that night in the Wood, and in that bottome which we firſt ſearched, where was good water for to drink Chocolatte, and warm lying under the trees, and ſo in the morning to make our ſecond ſearch. The Company was very willing to yeeld unto it, and the calme night favoured our good intentions. We made a fire for our Chocolatte, and ſupped exceeding well of our cold meat, and ſpent moſt part of the night in merry diſcourſe, having a watchfull eye over our *Indian*, leſt he ſhould give us the ſlip, and committing him to the charge of *Miguél Dalva*. In the morning we prayed unto God, beſeeching him to guide us that day in the work we went about, and to diſcover unto us the Cave of darkneſſe and iniquity; where lay hid that inſtrument of Satan, that ſo by his diſcovery glory might be given unto our true God, and ſhame and puniſhment brought upon his enemies. We entred again into the thick Wood up a ſteepy hill, and having throughly ſearched all the South ſide of it, we went on to the North ſide, where we found another deep deſcent, which we began to walke down looking on every ſide, and not in vain; for almoſt half a mile from the top we found ſome marks of a way that had been uſed and trodden, which we followed untill we came to another ſpring of water; we ſearched narrowly about it, and found ſome peeces of broken earthen diſhes and pots, and one peece of a chafing diſh, ſuch as the *Indians* uſe to burn Frankincenſe in, in the Churches before their Saints; we verily imagined that theſe were peeces of ſome ſuch inſtruments wherewith the Idolaters performed their duty unto their Idol, and we were the more comforted for that we knew that earthen ware had been made in *Mixco*; the pine Tree which immediately we diſcovered confirmed our hopes. When we came unto it we made very little more ſearch, for neer at hand was the Cave, which was dark within, but light at the mouth, where we found more earthen ware, with aſhes in them, which aſſured us of ſome Frankincenſe that had been burned. We knew not how far the Cave might reach within, nor what might be in it, and therefore with a flint we ſtruck fire and lighted a couple of candles and went in; at the entring it was broad, and went a little forward, but when we were in, we found it turn on the left hand towards the mountain, and not far; for within two rods we found the Idol ſtanding upon a low ſtooll covered with a linnen cloth. The ſubſtance of it was wood, black ſhining like Jet, as if it had been painted or ſmoaked, the forme was of a mans head unto the ſhoulders, without either Beard or Muſtachoes; his look was grim with a wrinkled forehead, and broad ſtartling eyes. We feared not his frowning look, but preſently ſeized upon him; and as we lifted him up we found under him ſome ſingle Rials, which his Favorites had offered unto him; which made us ſearch more diligently the Cave; and it was not amiſſe, for we found upon the ground more ſingle Rials, ſome plantines and other fruits, wax candles half burned, pots of Maiz, one little one of Hony, little diſhes wherein Frankincenſe had been burned, whereby I perceived the Idolaters and Chriſtians both agreed in their offerings; and had I not been informed that they called this Idol their God, I could have blamed them no more then the reſt of the Towns who worſhip, kneel before and offer ſuch offerings unto their Saints made of Wood, and ſome no handſomer then was this Idol, which I thought, might have been ſome beaſts ſhape; but being the ſhape and form of a man, they might have named him by the name of ſome Saint, and ſo ſome way have excuſed themſelves, which they could not do, nor would they do it, in that they perſiſted in this error, that he was their God, and had ſpoken and preached unto them, and being afterwards asked by me, whether it were the picture of any Saint, ſuch as were in *Mixco*, and other Churches, they anſwered, No, but that he was above all the Saints in the Countrey.

We were very joyfull to ſee that we had not ſpent our time in vain; we cut down boughes of trees, and filled the Cave with them and ſtopped the mouth of it up, and came away, making the *Indian* that went with us carry the Idol on his back wrapped up in a cloth, that it might not be ſeen or perceived as we went. I thought it fit to delay the time till night, and then to enter into *Mixco*, that the *Indians* might ſee nothing. So I ſtayed at one of the *Spaniards* houſes, till it were late, and deſired him to warn from me all the *Spaniards* thereabouts to be at *Mixco* Church the next Sabbath, (fearing leſt the Idolaters might be many, and riſe up againſt me) that I had

ſomewhat to ſay unto them and their Blackmores concerning their Sodalities, for I would not have them know of the Idol, till they heard of it and ſaw it in the Church, leſt it ſhould come to the *Indians* hearing, and ſo the Idolaters might abſent themſelves. At night I took my *Indian*, and *Miguel Dalva* with me, and went home, and ſhutting up the Idol in a cheſt till the next Sabbath, I diſmiſſed the *Indian*, charging him to ſay nothing, for he knew if he did what harme might come unto him from the Idolaters, and I knew few words now would ſuffice, for that he feared himſelf if it ſhould be known that he had been with me, I kept *Miguel Dalva* with me, who was deſirous to ſee the end of the buſineſſe, and prepared my ſelf againſt the next Sabbath to preach upon the 3. *v.* of the 20. of *Exodus*, *Thou ſhalt have none other Gods before me*, though it were a Text nothing belonging to the Goſpel of the day, from whence commonly in the Church of *Rome* the Texts and ſubjects of Sermons are deducted; but I judged that Text moſt ſeaſonable for the preſent occaſion. On the Sabbath day in the morning, when the Pulpit was made ready by him who had care of the Church and Altars, I cauſed *Miguel Dalva* to carry under his Cloak the Idol, and to leave it in the Pulpit upon the ground that it might not be ſeen, till ſuch time as I ſhould think fit in my Sermon to produce it, and to watch about the Church till the Congregation came in, that none might ſee it or take it away. Never was there a greater reſort from abroad to that Church then that day of *Spaniards* and Blackmores, who by the warning I ſent unto them expected ſome great matter from me, and of the Town very few were abſent, the *Fuentes* and all the reſt that were ſuſpected to be that Idols favorites (little thinking that their God was brought from his Cave, and now lay hid in the Pulpit to ſhame them) came alſo that day to Church. I commanded *Miguel Dalva* to be himſelf neer the Pulpit at Sermon time, and to warne thoſe *Spaniards* that knew the buſineſſe, and ſome more Blackmores his friends to be alſo neer the Pulpit ſtaires.

Thus Maſſe being ended, I went up to preach; when I rehearſed the words of my Text, I perceived both *Spaniards* and *Indians* began to look one upon another, as not being uſed to Sermons out of the Old Teſtament. I went on laying open this command of God, for having no other Gods before him, ſo that the Doctrine might ſeem to convince all that were there preſent, as well Saint-worſhippers, as indeed that Idols worſhippers, if the cauſe of my preaching upon that Subject had not diverted their eyes from themſelves to behold their own guiltineſſe of Idolatry, and to look only upon thoſe who worſhipped a peece of Wood for God, and not, as they did, for a Saint (which yet in my judgement was much alike.) After I had ſpoken what I thought fit concerning that horrible ſin, and ſhewed that no creature could have the power of God (who was the Creator of all things) neither could do good or harme without the true living Gods Commiſſion, eſpecially inanimate Creatures as ſtocks, and ſtones, who by the hands and workmanſhip of man might have eyes, and yet were dead Idols, and ſee not, might have ears and not hear, might have mouths, and not ſpeak, might have hands, and not work, nor help or defend with them ſuch as worſhipped them, and bowed down unto them.

Thus having half finiſhed my Sermon, I bowed my ſelf down in the Pulpit, and lifted up the black, grim, and ſtaring Devill, and placed that Dagon on one ſide of the Pulpit, with my eyes fixed upon ſome of the *Fuentes* and others, who I perceived changed their colour, bluſhed, and were ſore troubled looking, one upon another, I deſired the Congregation to behold what a God was worſhipped by ſome of them, and all to take notice of him, if any knew what part of the earth was the Dominion of this God, or from whence he came. I told them that ſome had boaſted that this peece of Wood had ſpoken, and preached againſt what I had taught of Chriſt, and that therefore he was worſhipped by them for God, and they had offered mony, hony, and of the fruits of the earth unto him, and burnt Frankincenſe before him in a ſecret and hidden Cave under the earth, ſhewing thereby that they were aſhamed to own him publickly, and that he lurking in the darkneſſe of the earth, ſhewed certainly that he belonged to the Prince of darkneſſe. I challenged him there in publick to ſpeak for himſelf, or elſe by ſilence to ſhame and confound all his worſhippers. I ſhewed them how being but wood, he had been made and faſhioned by the hands of man, and therefore was but a dead Idol. I ſpent a great deal of time arguing with him, and defying Satan who had uſed him as his inſtrument, daring the Devill himſelf to take him from that place which I had confined him to if he could, to ſhew what little power

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he or Satan had againſt the power of my faith in Chriſt. After much arguing and reaſoning according to the ſhallow capacity of the *Indians* preſent, I told them if that their God had power to deliver him from that execution, which I had intended againſt him (which was there publickly to have him cut in pieces and burnt) they ſhould not believe the Goſpell of Jeſus Chriſt; but if they ſaw no power at all in him againſt me the weakeſt inſtrument of the true living God, then I beſeeched them to be converted unto that true God who created all things, and to embrace ſalvation by his Son the only Mediatour and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, and to renounce and abjure from that time all Heatheniſh Idolatry of their forefathers, aſſuring them for what was paſt I would intercede for them, and ſecure them from what puniſhment might be inflicted upon them by the Preſident and Biſhop, and if they would come to me, I would ſpend my beſt indevours for the helping and furthering of them in the way of Chriſtianity.

And thus concluding without naming any perſon, I went down out of the Pulpit, and cauſed the Idol to be brought after me, and ſending for an axe, and for two or three great pans of coals, I commanded him to be hewen in very ſmall peeces, and to be caſt in the fire and burned before all the people in the midſt of the Church. The *Spaniards* cried out joyfully *Victor Victor*, and others repeated, *Gloria à noſtro Dios*, Glory to our God: the Idolaters held their peace and ſpake not then a word. But afterwards they acted moſt ſpightfully againſt me, and conſpired day and night to get me at ſome advantage, and to kill me. I writ to the Preſident of *Guatemala* informing him of what I had done; and to the Biſhop (as an Inquiſitor to whom ſuch caſes of Idolatry did belong) to be informed from him of what courſe I ſhould take with the *Indians* who were but in part yet diſcovered unto me, and thoſe only by the relation of one *Indian*. From both I received great thanks for my pains in ſearching the mountain, and finding out the Idol, and for my zeal in burning of it. And as touching the *Indian* Idolaters their counſell unto me was, that I ſhould further enquire after the reſt and diſcover as many as I could, and indevour to convert them to the knowledge of the true God by fair and ſweet means, ſhewing pity unto them for their great blindneſſe, and promiſing them upon their repentance pardon from the Inquiſition, which conſidering them to be but new plants uſeth not ſuch rigour with them, which it uſeth with *Spaniards* if they fall into ſuch horrible ſins. This adviſe I followed, and ſent privately for the *Fuentes* to my chamber, and told them how mercifull the Inquiſition was unto them, expecting their converſion and amendment. They ſeemed ſomwhat ſtubborne and angry for that I had burned that God, whom not only they, but many others in the Town, and alſo in the Town of Saint *John Sacatepeques* did worſhip. I uſed reaſons to perſwade them no honour was due unto it, as to a God. But one of them boldly replyed, that they knew that it was a peece of wood and of it ſelf could not ſpeak, but ſeeing it had ſpoken (as they were all witneſſes) this was a miracle whereby they ought to be guided, and they did verily beleeve that God was in that peece of wood, which ſince the ſpeech made by it was more then ordinary wood, having God himſelf in it, and therefore deſerved more offerings and adoration then thoſe Saints in the Church, who did never ſpeak unto the people. I told them that the Devill rather had framed that ſpeech (if any they had heard) for to deceive their ſouls and lead them to hell; which they might eaſily perceive from the Doctrine which I was informed he had preached againſt Chriſt the only begotten ſon of God, whom the Father loveth and in whom he is well pleaſed, and againſt whom he certainly would not ſpeak in that Idol. Another anſwered boldly, our forefathers never knew what Chriſt was, untill the *Spaniards* came unto that Countrey, but they knew there were Gods, and did worſhip them, and did ſacrifice unto them; and for ought they knew this God of theirs belonged in old times unto their forefathers. Why then, ſaid I unto them, he was a weak God who by my hands hath been burned? I perceived that at that time there was no reaſoning with them, for they were ſtubborn and captious, and ſo I diſmiſſed them. Had not God moſt graciouſly protected me againſt theſe my enemies, I had certainly been murthered by them; for a moneth after the burning of the Idol, when I thought all had been forgotten, and that the Idolaters were quiet, then they began to act their ſpight and malice, which firſt I diſcovered by a noiſe which once at midnight I heard of people about my houſe, and at my chamber door; to whom I called out from my bed not daring to open, but could have no

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anſwer from them. I perceived they would have come in by force, for they puſhed hard at the door. Whereupon I took ſuddainly the ſheets from off my bed, tying them with a ſtrong knot together, and with another to a bar of the window, making my ſelf ready to fall down by them to the ground, and ſo to flie in the dark night, if they had uſed violence to come in. The ſheets being thus prepared, and they ſtill at the door thruſting without any word from them, I thought by calling and crying out aloud I might affright them away. Wherefore with a ſhrill voice I called firſt to my ſervants, who were but boyes, and lay at the further end of a long gallery, then I cryed out to the neighbouring houſes to come and aſſiſt me againſt theeves. The ſervants had heard the noiſe and were awake, who preſently at my call came out; and with their coming my enemies ran down the ſtaires, and were heard no more that night. But I perceiving which way their ſpight and malice was bent, thought fit to be no more alone in the night, with boyes only in ſo great a houſe as was that of *Mixco*; whereupon the next day I ſent for my truſty friend *Miguel Dalva* who was able to fight alone with any half dozen of *Indians*, wiſhing him to bring with him what weapons he could get for my defence. I kept him with me a fortnight; and the next Sabbath I gave warning in the Church, that whoſoever came in the night to my houſe to affright me, or to do me any other miſchief ſhould look to himſelf, for that I had weapons both offenſive and defenſive. Though for a while I heard no more of them, yet they deſiſted not altogether from their evill and malicious intents; for knowing that *Miguel Dalva* did not lie in the chamber with me, a fortnight after (I being till about midnight with my candle ſtudying) they came up the ſtaires ſo ſoftly that I heard them not; but the *Black-more* being awake it ſeemes perceived that they were coming up, and ſoftly aroſe up from a long table were he lay upon a Mat, and took in his hand a couple of brick-bats of many which lay under the table for a work which I had in hand, and as he opened the door made a little noiſe, which was to them an item to flie down the ſtaires, and to run (as they thought) for their lives. The *Blackmore* did alſo run after them, and finding they had got too much advantage of him, and not knowing which way they might take, ſent after them with a fury his two brick-bats, wherewith he ſuppoſed he did hit one of them, for the next day walking about the Town he met with one of the *Fuentes* having a cap on his head, and he inquired of ſome *Indians* what he ailed, and he underſtood by them that his head was broke, but how they knew not. They perceiving that I was thus guarded by *Miguel Dalva*, deſiſted from that time from coming any more in the night unto my houſe, but yet deſiſted not from their ſpight and malice and from acting miſchief againſt me. For a month after when I thought that all had been forgotten, and they ſeemed outwardly to be kind and curteous, there came a meſſenger to me from the oldeſt of them, named *Pablo de Fuentes*, to tell me that he was very ſick, and like to die, and deſired me to go to comfort and inſtruct him in the truth, for that he truly deſired to be converted. I conceived very great joy at this newes, and doubted not of the truth and certainty of it, and prayed to God to direct me in the converſion of that ſoul; and ſo with haſte and good zeal, I went unto his houſe, where ſoon my joy and comfort was turned into bitterneſſe; for when I came to the door of his houſe, and was with one ſtep entred, I found all the brothers of *Pablo Fuentes*, and ſome others who were ſuſpected to be Idolaters, ſitting round the room; and miſſing *Pablo*, I withdrew my foot a little, and asked them where he was, miſtruſting ſomewhat to ſee them there all gathered together; but when I perceived that they ſtood not up, nor anſwered me a word, nor ſo much as took off their hats to me, then I began to fear indeed, and to ſuſpect ſome treachery; and ſo I turned back reſolving to go home again. But no ſooner was I turned, but behold *Pablo Fuentes* (who by his meſſage had feigned both ſickneſſe and converſion) came from behind his houſe with a cudgell in his hand, lifting it up to ſtrike at me. Had I not catched hold of his ſtick with both my hands, and prevented the intended blow, certainly he had ſtruck me down. But whilſt he and I were ſtriving for the ſtick who ſhould be maſter of it, the reſt of the *Indians* who were ſitting in the houſe, came out into the yard (which being a publick place was more comfort to me then if they had compaſſed me about within the houſe) and beſet me round, ſome pulling me one way, ſome another, tearing my clothes in two or three places, another to make me let go my hand from the ſtick with a knife run me into the hand (which to this day a ſmall ſcar doth witneſſe) and certainly had we not been in a publick

like yard, that party would also have run his knife into my sides; another seeing I would not let go the stick, took hold of it with *Pablo* and both together thrust it against my mouth, and with such strength that they broke some of my teeth, and filled my mouth with goar bloud, with which blow I fell, but soon recovered my self and arose, they laughing at me, but not daring to do me any more harme for fear they should be seen, as God would have seen what already they had done; for a Mulatta slave to a *Spaniard* in the valley; at that very time when I was down and rising passed by, and hearing me cry out for help to the neighbours (who lived somewhat far off that might help and succour me, for all the houses thereabouts were of the brothers the *Fuentes*) came into the yard, and seeing me all in bloud thought I had been mortally wounded, and calling them murtherers, ran along the street crying, Murther, murther in *Pablo Fuentes* his yard; till she came to the Market-place and Town-house, where she found the Maiors and Jurates sitting, and a couple of *Spaniards*, who when they heard of my danger, with drawn swords came presently running with all the officers of Justice to the yard of *Pablo Fuentes* to aid and assist me; but in the mean while the Idolaters perceiving the outcry of the Mulatta, began to fall away and to hide themselves; *Pablo Fuentes* going to shut up his house also to absent himself, I held him hard to it, striving with him that he might not escape away till some help came unto me. The *Spaniards* when they came and saw me all in bloud, made furiously to *Pablo Fuentes* with their naked swords, whom I stopped desiring them not to hurt him, lest what harme they did unto him should be imputed unto me. I wished the Justice not to fear him though he were a rich *Indian*, and as they would answer before the President of *Guatemala* to lay hold of him, and to carry him to prison, which they presently performed. I made the *Spaniards* and the Mulatta to witnesse under writing by way of information what they had seen, what bloud about my clothes, what wound in my hand, what blow in my mouth they had found, and sent with speed to the President of *Guatemala* this their information. The businesse was soon noised about the valley, whereupon most of the *Spaniards* came to offer their help and aid unto me; *Miguel Dalva* also chancing to be neer at a *Spaniards* house in the same valley came with the rest, who would have done that night some mischief among the *Indians* if I had not prevented them. I desired them to depart and go home to their houses, telling them I feared nothing, and that *Miguel Dalva* his company would be guard enough unto me. But they would by no means yeeld unto this, saying that night might prove more dangerous unto me then I imagined, and that I needed a stronger guard then of one man alone; for they conceived that the Idolaters knowing what already they had done, and fearing what grievous punishment might be inflicted upon them from the President of *Guatemala*, seeing themselves lost and undone men, might desperately that night rescue their brother out of prison, and attempt some mischief against me, and so flie away. Which I could not be brought to fear, or to believe any such thing of their cowardly spirits, nor that they would flie away, for that they had houses and land there in and about the Town, yet I was willing for one night to yeeld to have a stronger guard of *Spaniards* then at other times I had had with the Blackmore *Miguel Dalva* alone. After supper they kept watch about my house till such time as they perceived all was still, and the *Indians* a bed, and then they set a watch about the prison that *Pablo Fuentes* might not be taken out; and after this (pretending that they were in danger as well as I being but about a dozen, if the Town should all rise and mutiny by the suggestion of the Idolaters, who most of them were rich and powerfull with the rest, which yet I feared not) they would needs go and raise up the two Alcaldes or Maiors alone, with two more petty Officers to make search about the Town for the rest of the *Fuentes* and other known Idolaters, that being found they might secure them in the prison to appear at *Guatemala*, and prevented from doing any mischief either that night, or at any other time. With this stir which they made, and their care of me, they suffered me not to take any rest that night; but went and called up the Alcaldes and two officers and brought them to my house, desiring me to signifie unto them, how fit and necessary it was to search for the rest of the *Indians*. The poor Alcaldes trembled to see so many *Spaniards* at that time in my house with naked swords, and durst not but do what they thought best to be done, and so from my house about midnight they walked about the Town, searching such houses as they most suspected might conceale any of the *Fuentes*, or of the rest that had been that day in the rebellion and

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mutiny againſt me. They could find none at home, till at laſt coming to the houſe of one *Lorenzo Fuentes*, one of the brothers, they found all that had been in the conſpiracy againſt me, gathered together drinking and quaffing. The houſe being beſet there was no flying nor eſcaping, and ſeeing the *Spaniards* naked ſwords, they durſt not rebell, who doubtleſſe (as we were afterwards informed) would have made a great ſtir in the Town that night, and were met together to reſcue *Pablo* their brother, and to do me ſome miſchief and flye, not knowing that I was ſo ſtrongly manned and guarded by the *Spaniards*. There were ten of them, and were preſently without any noiſe in the Town carryed to the Priſon, and there ſhut up, and guarded by the *Spaniards*.

In the morning the Preſident of *Guatemala* (who then was *Don Juan de Guzman*; a Religious Governour) taking into his conſideration what the day before I had writ unto him, and judging my danger to be great, ſent a *Spaniſh* Alguazile, or Officer of Juſtice with a very large Commiſſion to bring priſoners to the City all thoſe *Indians* who the day before had been in rebellion againſt me, and in caſe they could not be found, then to ſeize upon what goods ſoever of theirs could be found in *Mixco*. But with the diligence of the *Spaniards* the night before they were all in a readineſſe for him, and paying the Alguazile firſt his charges (which he demanded as he liſted) and bearing the charges of *Miguel Dalva*, and two or three more *Spaniards*, who were commanded in the Kings name to be aiding and aſſiſting the Officer for the ſafer carrying them to *Guatemala*, they were horſed and had away that day to the Preſident, who committed them cloſe Priſoners, and afterwards commanded them to be whipped about the ſtreets, baniſhed two of them from *Mixco* to the Golf of St. *Thomas de Caſtilia*, and would have baniſhed them all, had they not humbled themſelves, and deſired me to intercede for them, promiſing to amend their lives, and to make me great ſatisfaction, if they might return again to their Town, and that if ever more they did ſtir againſt me, they would yeeld to be hanged and to loſe all their goods. With this the Preſident (fining them yet to pay twenty Crowns a peece to the Church to be imployed in what I ſhould think fitteſt) ſent them back; who, as they had promiſed, came unto me, and humbled themſelves before me with much weeping, with many expreſſions, ſhewing their ſorrow from their hearts for what they had done, caſting all upon the Devill, whom they confeſſed had been great with them in tempting them, whom alſo now they did abjure and renounce, promiſing to live as good Chriſtians, and never more to worſhip any God but one. I was very much taken with their deep ſorrow expreſſed with many tears, and indevoured to inſtruct them in the true knowledge of Chriſt, whom now I found they were very willing to imbrace. I lived not very long after in that Town; but for the time I did continue in it, I found a great change and alteration in their lives, which truly made me apt to judge that their repentance was unfained. And theſe former particulars of a few *Indians* of thoſe two Towns, I have not here inſerted to bring an aſperſion upon all that Nation, (which I do very much affect, and would willingly ſpend the beſt drops of bloud in my veines to do them good, and to ſave their ſouls) but to cauſe rather pity and commiſeration towards them, who after ſo many years preaching have been made as yet but formall and outward Chriſtians, and by the many Saints of wood, which they have been taught to worſhip by the Prieſts, have rather been inclined to the ſuperſtition and Idolatry of their Forefathers, and to truſt to living Creatures, and bow to inanimate ſtocks and ſtones, which they daily ſee performed publickly in their Churches. Certainly they are of a good and flexible nature, and (were thoſe Idols of Saints ſtatues removed from their eyes) might be brought eaſily to worſhip one only God; and whereas they ſo willingly laviſh out their ſmall means and what they labour for, in offerings to their Prieſts and to their Saints, and in maintaining lazy ſinging Lubbards, they without doubt would be free enough to true Miniſters of Gods Word, who ſhould venture their lives to beat down thoſe falſe Gods, and ſet up Jeſus Chriſt, and him that ſent him into the World to ſave ſuch as truly believe in him.

The year that this ſtir happened in *Mixco*, I received from *Rome* from the Generall of the Dominicans Order, Licence to come home to *England*; at which I rejoyced much, for now I was even weary with living among the *Indians*, and grieved to ſee the little fruit I reaped amongſt them, and that for fear of the Inquiſition I durſt not preach a new Goſpell unto them, which might make them true, reall, and inward Chriſtians; and

and laſtly, for that I perceived that *Antonio Mendez de Satomayor* (who was Lord of the Town of *Mixco*) did ſtomach me for having cauſed two of his Town to be baniſhed, and publickly affronted the *Fuentes* for their Idolatry, which he thought was a great aſperſion laid upon his *Indians*.

All which well conſidered I writ unto the Provinciall (who was then in *Chiapa*) of my deſire to return home to mine own Countrey, for the which I had a Licence ſent unto me from *Rome*. But he having heard of what good I had done in the Town of *Mixco* in reducing ſome Idolaters, burning their idol, and venturing my life in ſo good a cauſe; and alſo for the perfect knowledge which now I had of the *Poconchi* tongue, would by no means yeeld that I ſhould go; but with fair and flattering words incouraged me to ſtay, where he doubted not, but I did, and I might yet do God much more good ſervice; and that he might the better work upon me, he ſent me a Patent of Vicar of the Town and Cloiſter of *Amatitlan*, where at the preſent there was a new Cloiſter a building to ſeparate all that valley from the Cloiſter of *Guatemala*. He deſired me to accept of that ſmall preferment, not doubting but that I ſpeaking ſo well the *Indian* language might prevail much in that place, and better then another, to further the building of that new Cloiſter; which work would be a good ſtep for him to advance me afterwards to ſome better preferment. Although I regarded neither that preſent Superiority, nor any better honour which might afterwards enſue unto me, I thought the time which God had appointed for my returning to *England* was not yet come; for that if the Provinciall, and with him the Preſident of *Guatemala* (for ſo much I conjectured out of the Provincials letter) ſhould both oppoſe and hinder my departure from that Countrey, it would be very hard for me to take my journey any way, and not be diſcovered and brought back. Whereupon I reſolved to ſtay the Provincials coming to *Guatemala*, and there to confer with him face to face, and to ſhew him ſome reaſons that moved me to leave that Countrey, and to ſeek again mine own wherein I was born. So for the preſent I accepted of the Town of *Amatitlan*, where I had more occaſions of getting mony then in the other two, where I had lived five full years; for albeit that Town alone was bigger then both *Mixco* and *Pinola* together, and the Church fuller of Saints pictures and ſtatues, and very many Confraternities and Sodalities belonged unto it; beſides this from without the Town I had great comings in from the Ingenio of Sugar, which I related before ſtood cloſe unto that Town, from whence I had dayly offerings from the *Black-mores* and *Spaniards* that lived in it; and beſides this I had under my charge another leſſer Town called St. *Chriſtoval de Amatitlan*, ſtanding two leagues from great *Amatitlan*. This Town of St. *Chriſtoval*, or St. *Chriſtopher*, is called properly in that language, *Palinha*, *ha*, ſignifying water, and *Pali*, to ſtand upright, and is compounded of two words, which expreſſe water ſtanding upright; for the Town ſtandeth on the backſide of the Vulcan of water, which looketh over *Guatemala*, and on this ſide ſendeth forth many fountains, but eſpecially ſpouteth forth from a high rock a ſtream of water, which as it falleth from high with a great noiſe and down-fall, the rock ſtanding upright over the bottome where it falleth, and cauſeth a moſt pleaſant ſtream by the Towns ſide, it hath moved the *Indians* to call their Town, *Palinha*, from the high and upright ſtanding rock, from whence the water falleth. In this Town there are many rich *Indians*, who trade in the coaſt of the South ſea; the Town is an harbour ſhadowed with many fruitfull trees; but the chief fruit here is the Pinna, which groweth in every *Indians* yard, and with the neerneſſe of the Ingenio of Sugar, are by the *Spaniards* thereabouts much made up in Preſerves, ſome whole, ſome in ſlices, which is the daintieſt and moſt luſcious Preſerve that I ever did eat in that Countrey. The *Indians* of this Town get much by boards of Cedar, which they cut out of many Cedar-trees, which grow on that ſide of the Vulcan, which they ſell to *Guatemala* and all about the Countrey for new buildings.

Between great *Amatitlan* and this Town the way is plain, and lieth under a Vulcan of fire, which formerly was wont to ſmoak as much as that of *Guatemala*; but having formerly burſt out at the top, and there opened a great mouth, and caſt down to the bottom mighty ſtones (which to this day are to be ſeen) it hath not ſince been any wayes troubleſome unto the Countrey. In this way there was in my time a new Trapiche of Sugar erecting up by one *John Baptiſta* of *Guatemala*, which was thought would prove very uſefull, and profitable unto the foreſaid City. I had yet for the time that I lived,

in *Amatitlan* another very little village at my charge, called *Pampichi* at the bottome of a high mountain on the other ſide of the lake over againſt it; which was but a Chappell of eaſe unto great *Amatitlan*, unto which I went not above once in a quarter of a year, and that for paſtime and recreation; for this village is well in that language a compound alſo of *Pam*, in, and *Pichi* flowers, for that it ſtandeth compaſſed about with flowers which make it very pleaſant, and the boats or Canoa's which do conſtantly ſtand neer the doors of the houſe, invites to much pleaſure of fiſhing and rowing about the lake.

And thus whilſt I lived in *Amatitlan* I had the choice of three places wherein to recreate my ſelf, and becauſe the charge of many ſouls lay in my hands, I had one conſtantly to help me. The Town of *Amatitlan* was as the Court in reſpect of the reſt, where nothing was wanting that might recreate the mind and ſatisfie the body with variety and change of ſuſtenance, both for fiſh and fleſh. Yet the great care that did lie upon me in the work and building of the Cloiſter, made me very ſoon weary of living in that great and pleaſant Town; for ſometimes I had thirty, ſometimes twenty, ſometimes fewer, and ſometimes forty work-men to look unto, and to pay wages to on Saturday nights, which I found wearied much my brain, and hindred my ſtudies, and was beſides a work which I delighted not in, nor had any hopes ever to enjoy it. And therefore after the firſt year that I had been there I betook my ſelf unto the *Provincial*, who was in *Guatemala*, and again earneſtly beſought him to peruſe the Licence which I had from *Rome* to go to *England* mine own Countrey for to preach there (for that was the chief ground of letting me goe home, as the Generall largely expreſſed) where I doubted not but I might do God great ſervice, and in Conſcience I told him I thought I was bound to employ what parts God had beſtowed upon me, rather upon my own Countreymen, then upon *Indians* and ſtrangers. The Provinciall replyed unto me that my Countreymen were Hereticks, and when I came amongſt them, they would hang me up. I told him, I hoped better things of them, and that I would not behave my ſelf among them ſo as to deſerve hanging: not daring to tell him what was in my heart concerning points of Religion. After a long diſcourſe I found the Provinciall inexorable, and half angry, telling me that he and that whole Province had caſt their eyes upon me, and honoured me, and were ready and willing to promote me further, and that I would ſhew my ſelf very ungratefull unto them, if I ſhould forſake them for my own nation and people, whom I had not known from my young and tender age. I perceived there was no more to be ſaid, and all would be in vain, and ſo reſolved to take my beſt opportunity, and with my Licence from *Rome* to come away unknown unto him. But for the preſent I humbly beſeeched him to remove me from *Amatitlan*, for that I found my ſelf unable to undergo that great charge, and too weak for that ſtrong work, that was then building. With much ado he would be brought to this, alleadging what an honour it was to be a Founder and builder of a new Cloiſter, in whoſe wals my very name would be engraven to poſterity; all which I told him I regarded not, but eſteemed more of my health and a quiet mind, then of ſuch preferments and vanities. Upon which at laſt he condeſcended to my requeſt, and gave me order to go to *Petapa*, and that the Vicar of *Petapa* ſhould go to finiſh the work of *Amatitlan*. In *Petapa* I lived above a twelve moneth, with great eaſe, pleaſure and content for all things worldly and outward; but within I had ſtill a worme of Conſcience, gnawing this gourd that ſhadowed and delighted me with worldly contentment. Here I grew more and more troubled concerning ſome points of Religion, dayly wiſhing with *David*, that I had the wings of a Dove, that I might flie from that place of dayly Idolatry into *England*, and be at reſt. I reſolved therefore to put on a good courage, and relie wholly upon my God, knowing that the journey was hard and dangerous, and might bring ſhame and trouble unto me, if I ſhould be taken in the way flying and brought back to *Guatemala*; here I weighed the affliction and reproach which might enſue unto me, after ſo much honour, pleaſure, and wealth which I had enjoyed for about twelve years in that Countrey; but in another balance of better conſideration, I weighed the trouble of a wounded Conſcience, and the ſpirituall joy and comfort that I might enjoy at home with the people of God, and ſo reſolutely concluded upon that place of *Heb.* 11. 25, 26, 27. with *Moſes*, to chooſe rather to ſuffer affliction with the people of God (who as *Paul* well obſerveth, 1 *Theſſ.* 3. 3. are appointed thereunto; and again *Phil.*

1. 29.

1. 29. unto whom it is given in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe in him, but also to suffer for his sake) then to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season; esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches then the treasures in *Egypt*. So for faith and a safe conscience I now purposed likewise with *Moses* to forsake *Egypt*, not fearing the wrath of the President the Kings own Deputy, nor of the Provinciall, and my best friends; but to indure all this (if I should be taken) as seeing him who is invisible. I thought this was a businesse not to be conferred with flesh and bloud, lest the best friend knowing of it should betray me; yet on the other side, I thought it hard to flie alone without some friend for the first two or three dayes journey; and besides having many things to sell away to make mony of, I thought I were better to imploy some trusty friend, then to do all alone. I thought of none fitter then *Miguel Dalva*, whom by long experience I knew to be true and trusty, and that a small money matter would content him; whom I sent for to *Pinola*, and charging him with secrecy, I told him I had a journey for my conscience sake to make to *Rome* (I would not tell him that I intended *England*, lest the good old *Black-more* should grieve thinking never more to see me, and for the love he bare me, and interest he had many times from me, he should by discovering my intent, seek to stop me) which I would have none to know of but himself, not doubting but to return again, as he knew many had taken the like journey, and returned within two years.

The *Black-more* offered himself to go with me, which I refused, telling him that the seas would be too hard for his old age to endure, and that as a *Black-more* in forain Countries he might be stopped and apprehended for a fugitive; which reason he liked well, and offered himself to go with me as far as the sea side; for which I thanked him and employed to sell me away some Mules, Wheat and Maiz which I had, and what else might passe through his hands. As for many rich pictures which hung in my Chamber, I thought the Town of *Petapa* would buy them for their Church, and propounded it unto the Governour, who willingly accepted of them. Most of my books, chests, cabinets, quilts, and many good peeces of houshold-stuffe by the pains and industry of *Miguel* (whom I kept with me for the space of two months before I came away) I sold to *Guatemala*, reserving only two Petaca's or leathern chests, with some books and a quilt for my journey. When I had sold all that I intended, I found I had in *Spanish* mony neer nine thousand peeces of eight, which I had got in twelve years that I lived in that Countey. So much mony I thought would be too combersome for a long journey; whereupon I turned above four thousand of them into pearls and some pretious stones, which might make my carriage the lighter; the rest I laid up some in bags, some I sowed into my quilt, intending in the way to turn them into *Spanish* Pistols. Thus the chief provision being made of money, I took care for Chocolatte and some Conserves for the way, which were soon provided. Now because I considered that my flight the first week must be with speed, and that my chests could not post day and night as my self intended to do; I thought of sending my carriage four dayes at least before me; and not daring to trust any *Indian* of *Petapa*, I sent to *Mixco* for one speciall *Indian* friend whom I had there, who knew the way that I was to travaile very well; to whom I opened my mind, and offered him what money I knew would content him, and at midnight sent him away with two Mules, one for himself, and another for my chests, wishing him to keep on travelling towards St. *Miguel*, or *Nicaragua* till I overtook him. I gave him the advantage of four dayes and nights, and then resolutely with my good *Black-more* in my company leaving the key of my chamber in my door, and nothing but old papers within, when all the *Indians* were fast asleep, I bad adieu unto *Petapa*, and to the whole valley, and to all my friends throughout *America*.

Chap. XXI.

Shewing my journey from the Town of Petapa, *into* England; *and some chief passages in the way.*

THe chief thing which troubled me in my resolved purpose to come home, was the choice of the safest way; which made me utterly forsake the Gulfe (though the easiest way of all, and that sea neerest to the place where I lived) for that I knew I should meet there with many of my acquaintance, and the setting out of the ships was so uncertain, that before they departed, order might come from *Guatemala* to stop me; if I should go by land through *Comayagua* or *Truxillo*, and there wait for the ships, likewise I feared lest the Governour of that place by some item from the President of *Guatemala* might examine me, and send me back, and that the Masters of the ships might have charge given them not to receive me into their ships. If I should go back to *Mexico* and *Vera Cruz*, then I called to mind, how I was troubled in that long journey, when I came first to *Chiapa* in company of friends, and that now alone I should certainly be much put to it, for I would carry *Miguel Dalva* so far by land with me. Wherefore rejecting these three wayes, I chose the fourth, which was by *Nacaragua* and the Lake of *Granada*; and therefore I deferred my journey till the week after *Christmas*, knowing that the time of the frigats setting out from that lake to the *Havana* was commonly after the middle of *January*, or at *Candlemas* at the furthest, whither I hoped to reach in very good time. Now that I might by no means be suspected to have taken this way; before I went I left by the hand of *Miguel Dalva* a letter to a friend of his to be delivered to the Provinciall in *Guatemala*, four dayes after my departure, wherein I kindly took my leave of him, desiring him not to blame me nor to seek after me; and whereas I had a sufficient Licence from *Rome*, and could not get his, that I thought I might with a safe Conscience go where I was born, leaving Linguists enough to supply my place amongst the *Indians*. And becaufe he should not make enquiry after me by *Nicaragua*, I dated and subscribed my letter to him from the Town of St. *Antonio Suchutepeques*, which was the way to *Mexico* and quite contrary to *Nicaragua*.

The next day after *Twelfth* day, being the seventh of *January*, 1637. at midnight I set out of *Petapa* upon a lusty Mule (which afterwards in the way I sold for fourscore peeces of eight) with *Miguel Dalva* alone; and the first part of the way being very hilly we could not go so fast as our hearts would have posted; for it was break of day before we could get to the top of the Mountain, which is called *Serro Redondo*, or the round hill; which is much mentioned in that Countrey, for the good pasture there which serveth for the Cattell and Sheep, when the valleys below are burnt and no grasing left for Beasts. This hill is also a great refuge to Travellers, for there they find good entertainment in a *Venta*, where wine and provision is sold, and is a great Lodge, for to lay up dry what carriages they bring; there is besides one of the best Estancia's or farmes of Cattell in the Countrey, where of Goats and Ewes milke is made the best cheese thereabouts. This round hill or mountain is five leagues from *Petapa*, where I feared I might meet with some people of *Petapa*, and therefore the day now dawning I made hast by it, leaving in the lodge asleep many *Indians*, who attended on two *Spanish* Requa's of Mules, which that day were to go to *Petapa*; four leagues further from this *Serro Redondo* is a Town of *Indians* called *Los Esclavos*, or the Slaves, not that now they are more slaves then the rest of the *Indians*, but becaufe in the old time of *Montezuma* the Emperour, and the *Indian* Kings that were under him, the people of this Town were more slaves then any other, for from *Amatitlan* (which is so called from *Amat*, which in the *Mexican* tongue signifieth Letter, and *Itlan* which signifieth Town, for that it was the Town of Letters as some say, for a rinde of a tree, whereon they were wont formerly to write and expresse their minds, or becaufe it was the place whither from all parts letters were sent to be carried about the Countrey, and

to

to *Peru*) theſe *Indians* of the Town of *Eſclavo's* or ſlaves, were commanded as ſlaves to go all about the Countrey with letters or whatſoever elſe they ſhould be charged with; and they were bound conſtantly to ſend every week ſo many of their Town (as were appointed) unto *Amatitlan*, there to wait and attend the pleaſure of that Town for the conveying of letters, or any carriages to other parts.

This Town of *los Eſclavos* ſtandeth in a bottome by a river, over the which the *Spaniards* have built a very ſtrong ſtone Bridge to go in and out of the Town, for otherwiſe with mules there is no paſſing by reaſon of the violent and rapid ſtream of the water, and many rocks in the River, from which the water falleth down with great force. From this Town where we only ſtayed to drink a cup of Chocolatte and to bait our Mules) we went on that day to *Aguachapa*, being ten leagues further, and not far from the South Sea, and the port called *De la Trinidad*; whither we came towards evening, having that day and part of the night travelled about threeſcore *Engliſh* miles up hils and upon ſtony wayes from the *Eſclavo's* unto this Town; which is much mentioned in that Countrey for two things. The one is for the earthen ware which is made there (as ſome think) exceeding that of *Mixco*. The other is for a place within a mile and a halfe from the Town, which the *Spaniards* do credibly report and believe to be a mouth of hell. For out of it there is conſtantly aſcending a thick black ſmoak ſmelling of Brimſtone, with ſome flaſhes now and then of fire; the earth from whence this ſmoak ariſeth is not high, but low. None ever durſt draw nigh to find out the truth and ground of it; for thoſe that have attempted to do it, have been ſtricken down to the ground and like to loſe their lives. A friend of mine a Fryer (whom I thought verily I might believe) upon his oath affirmed unto me, that travelling that way with a Provinciall he reſolved to go unto the place, and ſatisfie himſelf of the ground and cauſe of the ſtrange talke which was every where about the Countrey concerning that ſmoak. He went within a quarter of a mile of it, and preſently, he ſaid, he heard a hideous noiſe, which together with the ſtench of the fiery ſmoak and brimſtone, ſtruck him into ſuch a fear that he was like to fall to the ground, and retiring himſelf with all ſpeed was taken with a burning feaver, which was like to coſt him his life. Others report that drawing neer unto it, they have heard great cries as it were of men and women in torment, noiſe of iron, of chaines, and the like, which (how ſimply I leave it to my Judicious Reader) maketh them believe that it is a mouth of hell. Of my knowledge I will ſay no more, but that I ſaw the ſmoak, and asked the *Indians* what was the cauſe of it; and if ever they had been neer unto it? And they anſwered me, that they could not imagine what might be the cauſe of it, neither durſt they draw nigh unto it; and that they had ſeen Travellers, attempting to go neer it, and that they were all ſtricken either to the ground, or with ſome ſuddain amazement, or feaver. I told them that I would walke thither my ſelf, and they deſired me that I would not, if I loved my life. It was not yet for all this report the fear of being ſo near the *Spaniards* hell (as they call it) that made me haſte with ſpeed out of that Town, but fear of ſome meſſenger that might come after me to ſtop my journey. For at midnight I departed from thence, and went to break my faſt to a great Town called *Chalcuapan*, where the *Indians* made very much of me, being *Pocomanes*, who ſpake the *Poconchi* or *Pocoman* tongue which I had learned. They would willidgly have had me to ſtay with them and preach unto them the next Sabbath, which I would have done, had not a better deſigne called upon me to make haſte.

Here I was troubled, how I ſhould get through St. *Salvador*, which was a City of *Spaniards*, and wherein there was a Cloiſter of Dominicans, whom I feared moſt of all, becauſe I was known by ſome of them. My reſolution was therefore when I came neer unto the City, to turn out of my way to a *Spaniards* Farm as if I had loſt my way, and there to delay the time till evening in drinking Chocolatte, diſcourſing, and baiting my mules well, that ſo I might travell all that night, and be out of the reach of that City, and Fryers (who lived in *Indian* Towns about it) the next morning, early. This City of St. *Salvador* is poor, not much bigger then *Chiapa*, and is governed by a *Spaniſh* Governour. It ſtandeth forty leagues at leaſt from *Guatemala*, and towards the North Sea ſide, is compaſſed with very high mountains, which are called Chuntales, where the *Indians* are very poor. In the bottome where the City ſtandeth there are ſome Trapiches of Sugar, ſome Indigo made, but the chief Farmes are

Estantia's of Cattell. Towards Evening I departed from that Farm where I had well refreshed my self and my Mule, and about eight of the clock I rid through the City not being known by any body. My purpose was to be the next morning at a great River, called *Rio de Lempa*, some ten leagues from St. *Salvador*, for within two leagues of it there lived in an *Indian* Town a Fryer belonging to the Cloister of St. *Salvador* who knew me very well. But such haste I made that before break of the day I passed through that Town, and before seven of the clock I was at the River, where I found my *Indian* of *Mixco* ready to passe over with my carriage, who that morning by three of the clock had set out of that Town two leagues off. I was not a little glad to have overtaken my Chests, wherein was most of my treasure. There I sat down a while by the River whilst my mules grazed, and my *Indian* struck fire and made me Chocolatte. This River of *Lempa* is held the broadest, and biggest in all the Jurisdiction belonging unto *Guatemala*; there are constantly two ferry Boats to passe over the Travellers, and their Requa's of Mules. This River is priviledged in this manner, that if a man commit any hainous crime or murther on this side of *Guatemala*, and *San Salvador*, or on the other side of St. *Miguel*, or *Nicaragua*, if he can flie to get over this River, he is free as long as he liveth on the other side, and no Justice on that side whither he is escaped can question or trouble him for the murther committed. So likewise for Debts he cannot be arrested. Though I thanked God I neither fled for the one, or for the other, yet it was my comfort that I was now going over to a priviledged Country, where I hoped I should be free and sure, and that if any one did come after me, he would go no further then to the river of *Lempa*. My Blackmore did much laugh at this my conceipt, and warranted me that all would do well. We ferried safely over the River; and from thence went in company with my *Indian* to a little small Town of *Indians* two leagues off, where we made the best dinner that we had done from the Town of *Petapa*, and willingly gave rest to all our mules till four of the clock in the afternoon; at which time we set forth to another small Town little above two leagues off, through a plain, sandy and Champaign Countrey. The next day we had but ten leagues to travell to a Town called St. *Miguel*, which belongeth unto *Spaniards*, and though it be not a City, yet it is as big almost as *San Salvador*, and hath a *Spanish* Governour; in it there is one Cloister of Nuns, and another of Mercenarian Fryers, who welcomed me unto their Cloister; for here I began to shew my face, and to think of selling away the Mule I rid on, being resolved from hence to go by water or an Arme of the Sea, to a Town in *Nicaragua* called *La Vieja*. I would here have dismissed my *Indian*, but he was loth to leave me untill I got to *Granada*, where he desired to see me shipped. I refused not his kind offer, because I knew he was trusty and had brought my Chests well thither, and knew well the way to *Granada*. So I sent him by land to *Realejo*, or to *La Vieja*, which stand very neer together, and thirty leagues by land from St. *Miguel*, and my self stayed that day and till the next day at noon in that Town, were I sold the Mule I rid on, because I knew that from *Realejo* to *Granada* I could have of the *Indians* a Mule for nothing for a dayes journey. My Blackmores Mule I sent also by land with the *Indian*, and the next day went to the Gulfe, being three or four miles from St. *Miguel*, where that afternoon I took Boat with many other passengers, and the next morning by eight in the morning was at *La Vieja*, which journey by land would have taken me up neer three dayes. The next day my *Indian* came at night, and we went to *Realejo*, (as I have observed before) a Haven very weak and unfortified on the South Sea; where if I would have stayed one fortnight I might have taken shipping for *Panama*, to go from thence to *Portabello*, and there stay for the Galeons from *Spain*. But I considered that the Galeons would not be there till *June* or *July*, and that so I should be at great charges in staying so long. But afterwards I wished I had accepted of that occasion, for I was at last forced to go to *Panama*, and *Portobello*. From hence to *Granada* I observed nothing, but the plainnesse and pleasantuesse of the way, which with the fruits and fertility of all things may well make *Nicaragua* the Paradise of *America*. Between *Realejo* and *Granada* standeth the City of *Leon*, neer unto a *Vulcan* of fire, which formerly burst out at the top, and did much hurt unto all the Countrey about; but since that it hath ceased, and now letteth the Inhabitants live without fear. Sometime it smoaks a little, which sheweth that as yet there is within some sulphurous substance.

Here it was that a Mercenarian Fryer thought to have discovered some great treasure, which

which might inrich himself and all that Countrey, being fully perswaded that the metall that burned within that *Vulcan* was Gold; whereupon he caused a great Kettle to be made, and hung at an iron chain to let it down from the top, thinking therewith to take up gold enough to make him Bishop and to inrich his poor kindred. But such was the power and strength of the fire within, that no sooner had he let down the Kettle, when it fell from the chain and from his hands being melted away.

This City of *Leon* is very curiously built, for the chief delight of the Inhabitants consisteth in their houses, and in the pleasure of the Countrey adjoyning, and in the abundance of all things for the life of man, more then in any extraordinary riches, which there are not so much injoyed, as in other part of *America*. They are contented with fine gardens, with variety of singing birds, and parrets, with plenty of fish and flesh, which is cheap, and with gay houses, and so lead a delicious, lasie and idle life; not aspiring much to trade and traffique, though they have neer unto them the Lake, which commonly every year sendeth forth some Frigats to the *Havana* by the North Sea, and *Realejo* on the South Sea, which to them might be very commodious for any dealing and rich Trading in *Peru*, or to *Mixco*, if their spirits would carry them so far: The Gentlemen of this City are almost as vain and phantasticall as are those of *Chiapa*. And especially from the pleasure of this City, is all that Province of *Nicaragua*, called by the *Spaniards Mahomets* Paradise. From hence the way is plain and levell to *Granada*, whither I got safely and joyfully, hoping that now I had no more journey to make by land, till I should land at *Dover* in *England*, and from thence post up to *London*. Two dayes after I had arrived at this place and rested my self, and injoyed the pleasant prospect of the Lake, I began to think of dismissing my *Indian* and blackmore. But true and faithfull *Miguel Dalva* would by no means leave me, till he saw me shipped; and that I had no more need of him by land; Likewise the *Indian* would willingly have stayed, but by no means I would permit him, for that I considered he had a wife and children to look to at home. He was as willing to return a foot, as to ride, because he would have me sell my Mules, and make what money I could of them; but I seeing the good nature of the *Indian*, would recompense his love with as much money as might be more beneficiall to him, then a tired Mule; which might have dyed in the way under him, and left him on foot; so I gave him money enough to bear his charges home, and to hire Mules at his own pleasure, and some to spare when he came home. The *Indian* with many tears falling from his eyes, saying he feared he should never more see me, took his leave of me the third day after we arrived at *Granada*. My Blackmore and I being left alone, first began to think of selling away the two Mules, which had brought thither the *Indian*, and my Chests; for which I got fourscore and ten peeces of eight after so long a journey, and thought they were well sold. I would have had *Miguel* have sold away that whereon he rid, (which was his own) and offered to buy him another that might better carry him back, but the loving and carefull Blackmore would not suffer me to be at such charges, considering the long journey which I was to make. After this we hearing that the frigats were not like to depart in a fortnight, thought of viewing well that stately and pleasant Town a day or two, and then to betake our selves to some neer *Indian* Town, where we might be hid, (lest by the great resort of Requa's of Mules which at that time brought Indigo and Cochinill from *Guatemala* to the Frigats, we should be discovered) and might now and then come to the Town to treat concerning my passing in one of the Frigats to the *Havana* or *Carthagena*. What in that Town we observed was, two Cloisters of Mercenarian and Franciscan Fryers, and one of Nuns, very rich; and one Parish Church, which was as a Cathedrall, for the Bishop of *Leon* did more constantly reside there then in the City. The houses are fairer then those of *Leon*, and the Town of more inhabitants, among whom there are some few Merchats of very great wealth, and many of inferiour degree very well to passe, who trade with *Carthagena*, *Guatemala*, *San Salvador*, and *Comayagua*, and some by the South sea to *Peru* and *Panama*. But at this time of the sending away the Frigats, that Town is one of the wealthiest in all the North Tract of *America*; for the Merchants of *Guatemala* fearing to send all their goods by the Gulfe of *Honduras*, for that they have been often taken by the *Hollanders* between that and *Havana*, think it safer to send them by the Frigats to *Carthagena*, which passage hath not been so much stopped by the *Hollanders* as the other. So likewise many times the Kings treasure, and revenues (when there is

any report of ſhips at ſea, or about the Cape of St. *Anthony*) are this way by the Lake of *Granada* paſſed to *Carthagena*. That year that I was there, before I betook my ſelf to an *Indian* Town, in one day there entred ſix Requa's (which were at leaſt three hundred Mules) from St. *Salvador* and *Comayagua* only, laden with nothing elſe but Indigo, Cochinil and Hides; and two dayes after from *Guatemala* came in three more, the one laden with ſilver (which was the Kings tribute from that Countrey; the other with Sugar, and the other with Indigo. The former Requa's I feared not; but the latter made me keep cloſe within my lodging, leſt going abroad, I ſhould be known by ſome of thoſe that came from *Guatemala*; who after they had delivered what they brought, preſently departed, and with their departure ſet me at liberty, who for their ſakes was a voluntary priſoner within mine own lodging. But fearing leſt more of theſe Requa's might come and affright me, I went to a Town out of the rode, a league from *Granada*, and took my pleaſure up and down the Countrey where I was much feaſted by the Mercenarian Fryers, who enjoy moſt of thoſe Towns. Amongſt theſe I heard much of the paſſage in the Frigats to *Carthagena*, which did not a little diſhearten and diſcourage me. For although, whileſt they ſail upon the Lake, they go ſecurely and without trouble, yet when they fall from the Lake to the River (which there they call *El Deſagnadero*) to go out to the Sea, *hic labor, hoc opus eſt*, here is nothing but trouble, which ſometimes makes that ſhort voyage to laſt two moneths; for ſuch is the fall of the waters in many places amongſt the rocks, that many times they are forced to unlade the Frigats, and lade them again with help of Mules which are there kept for that purpoſe, by a few *Indians* that live about the River, and have care of the Lodges made for to lay in the wares, whileſt the Frigats paſſe thorow thoſe dangerous places to another Lodge, whither the wares are brought by Mules, and put again into the Frigats. Beſides this trouble (which muſt needs be tedious to a paſſenger, to be thus ſtopped, who would willingly come ſoon to his journies end) the abundance of gnats is ſuch, which maketh him to take no joy in his voiage, and the heat in ſome places ſo intolerable, that many do die before they get out to the ſea. Though all this was terrible to me to hear, yet I comforted my ſelf that my life was in the hands of the Lord, and that the frigats did commonly every year paſſe that way, and ſeldome any were loſt. I went now and then to *Granada* to bargain for my paſſage, and to know when the frigats would for certain ſet out, and to provide my ſelf of ſoms dainties and Chocolatte for my journey, having agreed with a Maſter of a frigat for my diet at his table. The time was appointed within four or five dayes; but ſuddenly all was croſſed with a ſtrict command from *Guatemala*, that the frigats ſhould not go out that year, becauſe the Preſident and whole Court was informed for certain that ſome *Engliſh* or *Holland* ſhips was abroad at ſea, and lay about the mouth of the river or *Deſagnadero* waiting for the frigats of *Granada*, and that the ſaid were ſometimes lurking about the Iſlands of St. *John*, and St. *Catharine* (which then was our *Providence*) which made all the Merchants of the Countrey to fear and ſweat with a cold ſweat, and the Preſident to be carefull for the Kings revenues, leſt the loſſe of them ſhould be imputed to his wilfull negligence, in ſtopping the frigats, whileſt he might, and had warning given. This was but ſad newes unto me, who knew not for the preſent, which way to diſpoſe of my ſelf. I began to think of the ſhip that was at *Realejo* ready to ſet out to *Panama*, thinking that would now be my beſt courſe, but enquiring after it, I was for certain informed by ſome Merchants that it was newly gone. Then my eyes looked upon *Comayagua* and *Truxillo*, and upon the ſhips of *Honduras*, but theſe were but vain and troubled thoughts, ariſing from a perplexed heart, for the ſhips were alſo gone from thence, without ſome ſmall veſſell or frigat might be there with newes from *Havana* or *Carthagena* (for thoſe places ſend often word and notice of what ſhips are abroad at ſea) but this alſo was a meer chance, and not to be truſted unto, as my friends did adviſe, and counſell me. Whereupon my perplexity more and more increaſed; only my comfort was that there were more paſſengers beſides my ſelf, who I knew muſt take ſome courſe, and whom I alſo reſolved to follow by ſea, or land. Amongſt us all we were once reſolved to hire a frigat to carry us only to *Carthagena*, but this would not be granted, for no body would hazard his veſſell and life for our ſakes. Whileſt we were thus diſtreſſed and perplexed enquiring about *Granada* of the Merchants what courſe we might take to get to *Spain* that year, or to meet with the *Havana* or *Carthagena*; one that wiſhed us well,

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counſelled us to go to *Coſtarica*, where at *Carthago* we ſhould be ſure to hear of ſome veſſels bound for *Portobel*, either from the river called *de los Anzuelos*, or from the river called *Suere*, from whence every year went out ſome ſmall frigats to carry Meal, Bacon, Fowles, and other proviſion for the Galeons to *Portobel*. This we thought was a hard and difficult journey, and of neer a hundred and fifty leagues, over mountains and through deſerts, where we ſhould miſſe the pleaſure, variety, and dainties of *Guatemala* and *Nicaragua*, and after all this peradventure might miſſe of an opportunity of any frigat bound to *Portobello*. Yet ſo unwilling were we all to return to *Guatemala* from whence we came, that we would rather go forward, and undergo any difficulties, ſo that at laſt we might find any ſhipping to convey us where we might meet with the Galeons, which we knew were not to come to *Portobel*, till the month of *June* or *July*. We therefore agreed four of us, three *Spaniards* and my ſelf, to go to *Coſtarica*, and there to try our fortune. They had each of them (as my ſelf had) carriage for one Mule, and none to ride on; but thought it their beſt way to buy each of them a Mule to carry them, which they hoped after their journey to ſell again at *Coſtarica*, and to get money by them, and for their carriages to hire mules and *Indians* from Town to Town, who alſo might ſerve to guide us through many dangerous places and paſſages, which we underſtood were in the way. Now I wiſhed I had my Mule which I ſold at *San Miguel*, or any one of the two which I ſold before in *Granada*. But for my money I doubted not, with the help of my *Black-more*, but I ſhould find one for my purpoſe. I furniſhed my ſelf very ſpeedily, for fifty peeces of eight, of one which I feared not would perform my journey. My good and truſty *Black-more* would willingly have gone on with me, and further round the world if I would have permitted him; but I would not; but (thanked him heartily for what he had done, and gave him money enough in his purſe, and diſmiſſed him) hoping that the company of the three *Spaniards* would be ſufficient comfort unto me.

Thus with one *Indian* to guide us we ſet four of us out of *Granada*, enjoying for the two firſt dayes more of the pleaſure of that *Mahomets* paradiſe *Nicaragua*, finding the way for the moſt part plain, the Towns pleaſant, the Countrey ſhady, and every where fruits abounding. The ſecond day after we ſet out, we were much affrighted with a huge and monſtrous Caiman or Crocodile, which having come out of the Lake (which we paſſed by) and lying croſſe a puddle of water bathing himſelf, and waiting for ſome prey, as we perceived after, whom we not knowing well at the firſt, but thinking that it had been ſome tree that was felled or fallen, paſſed cloſe by it; when on a ſuddain we knew the ſcales of the Caiman, and ſaw the monſter ſtir and move, and ſet himſelf againſt us; wherewith we made haſt from him; but he thinking to have made ſome of us his greedy prey, ran after us, which when we perceived, and that he was like to overtake us, we were much troubled, untill one of the *Spaniards* (who knew better the nature and quality of that beaſt then the reſt) called upon us to turn to one ſide out of the way, and to ride on ſtrait for a while, and then to turn on another ſide; and ſo to circumflex our way, which advice of his without doubt ſaved mine, or ſome of the others lives, for thus we wearied that mighty monſter and eſcaped from him, who (had we rid out ſtraightway) had certainly overtaken us, and killed ſome mule or man, for his ſtraight forward flight was as ſwift as our Mules could run; but whilſt he turned and wheeled about his heavy body, we got ground and advantage till we left him far behind us; and by this experience we came to know the nature and quality of that beaſt, whoſe greatneſſe of body is no hinderance to run forward as ſwift as a Mule; but otherwiſe, as the Elephant once laid down is troubled to get up, ſo this monſter is heavy and ſtiffe, and therefore much troubled to turn and wind about his body. We praiſed God who had that day delivered us, and riding for a while by the ſide of the lake, we were watchfull that we might not fall again into the like danger. But the greatneſſe of this lake of *Granada* may from hence be known, in that the ſecond and third day of our journey, being at leaſt threeſcore miles from whence we ſet out, we now and then found our way lying by it. After that we had wholly loſt the ſight of it, we began to enter into rough and craggy wayes, declining more to the South then to the North ſea. And in all the reſt of our journey to *Carthago*, we obſerved nothing worth committing to poſterity, but only mighty woods and trees on the South ſea ſide, very fit for to make ſtrong ſhips, and many mountains and deſert places, where we lay ſometimes two nights together, either in woods or open fields, far

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from any Town or habitation of *Indians*, yet for our comfort in these so desert places we had still a guide with us, and found lodges, which by the command of the neerest Justices had been set up for such as travelled that way. We came at last through thousand dangers to the City of *Carthago*, which we found not to be so poor, as in richer places, as *Guatemala* and *Nicaragua* it was reported to be. For there we had occasion to inquire after some Merchants for exchange of gold and silver, and we found that some were very rich, who traded by land and sea with *Panama*, and by Sea with *Portobello*, *Carthagena*, and *Havana*, and from thence with *Spain*. This City may consist of four hundred Families, and is governed by a *Spanish* Governour; It is a Bishops Sea, and hath in it three Cloisters, two of Fryers, and one of Nuns. Here we began to enquire after that which had brought us through so many Mountains, Woods, and deserts, to wit, after some speedy occasion of shipping our selves for *Portobello* or *Carthagena*; and according to our desires we understood of one Frigat almost ready to set out from the River called *De los Anzuelos*, and another from the River *Suere*; and being well informed that *Suere* would be the best place for us to travell unto by reason of more provision in the way, more Towns of *Indians*, and Estancia's of *Spaniards*, we resolved within four dayes after we had rested in *Carthago*, to undertake a new journey towards the North Sea. We found that Countrey mountainous in many places, yet here and there some Vallies where was very good corn, *Spaniards* living in good Farmes, who as well as the *Indians* bred many hogs; but the Towns of *Indians* we found much unlike to those which we had left behind in *Nicaragua* and *Guatemala*; and the people in curtesie and civility much differing from them, and of a rude and bold carriage and behaviour towards us; yet they are kept under by the *Spaniards*, as much as those whom I have formerly spoken of about *Guatemala* We came in so good a time to the River *Suere*, that we stayed there but three dayes in a *Spanish* Farm neer unto it, and departed.

The Master of the Frigat was exceeding glad of our company, and offered to carry me for nothing, but for my prayers to God for him, and for a safe passage; which he hoped would not be above three or four dayes sailing. What he carried was nothing but some Hony, Hides, Bacon, Meal and Fowles. The greatest danger he told us of, was the setting out from the River, (which runs in some places with a very strong stream, is shallow and full of rocks in other places) till we come forth to the main Sea. Whither we got out safely and had not sailed on above twenty leagues, when we discovered two ships making towards us; our hearts began to quake, and the Master himself of the Frigat we perceived was not without fear, who suspected that they were *English* or *Holland* Ships; we had no guns nor weapons to fight with, save onely four or five Muskets and half a dozen Swords; we thought the wings of our nimble Frigat might be our best comfort, and flying away our chiefest safety. But this comfort soon began to fail us, and our best safety was turned into near approaching danger; for before we could flie one five leagues towards *Portobel*, we could from our Top Mast easily perceive the two Ships to be *Hollanders*, and too nimble for our little Vessell, which presently one of them (which being a Man of Warre, was too much and too strong for our weakness) fetcht up, and with a thundring Message made us strike Sail. Without any fighting we durst not but yeeld, hoping for better mercy. But O what sad thoughts did here run to and from my dejected heart, which was struck down lower then our Sail? How did I sometimes look upon Deaths frighting visage? But if again I would comfort and incourage my self against this fear of Death; how then did I begin to see an end of all my hopes of ever more returning to my wished and desired Countrey? How did I see that my treasure of Pearls, pretious Stones, and pecces of Eight, and golden Pistols, which by singing I had got in twelve years space, now within one halfe hour ready to be lost with weeping, and become a sure prey to those who with as much ease as I got them, and with laughing were ready to spoile me of all that with the found of Flutes, Waits and Organs I had so long been hording up? Now I saw I must forcedly and fainedly offer up to a *Hollander* what superstitious, yea also forced and fained offerings of *Indians* to their Saints of *Mixco*, *Pinola*, *Amatitlan* and *Petapa* had for a while enriched me. My further thoughts were soon interrupted by the *Hollanders* who came aboard our Frigat with more speed then we desired. Though their Swords, Muskets and Pistols did not a little terrifie, yet we were somewhat comforted, when we understood who was their chief Captain.

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and Commander, and hoped for more mercy from him, who had been born and brought up amongſt *Spaniards*, then from the *Hollanders*, who as they were little bound unto the *Spaniſh* Nation for mercy, ſo did we expect little from them. The Captain of this *Holland* ſhip which took us was a Mulatto, born and bred in *Havana*, whoſe Mother I ſaw and ſpoke with afterwards that ſame year, when the Galeons ſtruck into that Port to expect there the reſt that were to come from *Vera Cruz*. This Mulatto for ſome wrongs which had been offered unto him from ſome commanding *Spaniards* in the *Havana*, ventured himſelf deſperately in a boat out to the Sea, where were ſome *Holland* Ships waiting for a prize, and with Gods help getting unto them, yeelded himſelf to their mercy, which he eſteemed far better then that of his own Countreymen, promiſing to ſerve them faithfully againſt his own Nation, which had moſt injuriouſly and wrongfully abuſed, yea and (as I was afterwards informed) whipped him in the *Havana*.

This Mulatto proved ſo true and faithfull in his good ſervices unto the *Hollanders*, that they eſteemed much of him, married him to one of their Nation, and made him Captain of a Ship under that brave and gallant *Hollander* whom the *Spaniards* then ſo much feared, and named, *Pie de Palo*, or Wooden Leg. This famous Mulatto it was that with his Sea Souldiers borded our Frigat, in the which he had found little worth his labour, had it not been for the *Indians* offerings which I carried with me; of which I loſt that day the worth of four thouſand Patacons or peeces of eight in pearls, and pretious ſtones, and neer three thouſand more in mony. The other *Spaniards* loſt ſome hundreds a peece, which was ſo rich a prize, that it made the *Hollanders* ſtomach loath the reſt of our groſſe proviſion of Bacon, Meal and Fowles, and our mony taſted ſweeter unto them, then the Hony which our Frigat alſo afforded them. Other things I had (as a Quilt to lie on, ſome Books, and Lamina's, which are pictures in braſſe, and clothes) which I begged of that Noble Captain the Mulatto, who conſidering my Orders and calling, gave me them freely, and wiſhed me to be patient, ſaying that he could do no otherwiſe then he did with my money and Pearls, and uſing that common Proverbe at Sea, *Oy per mi, manana per ti*, to day fortune hath been for me, to morrow it my be for thee: or to day I have got what to morrow I may loſe again. Here I made uſe alſo of that common ſaying, that ill gotten goods never thrive, and perceived it was the will of my heavenly Father to take from me what ſo unlawfully by ſuperſtitious and idolatrous Maſſes, by Offerings unto Idols and Statues of Saints I had got amongſt the *Indians*. I offered in lieu of thoſe former offerings my will unto my Lord Gods will, deſiring him to grant me patience to bear that great loſſe. I confeſſe, though it was very croſſe to fleſh and bloud, yet I found an inward ſpirituall ſtrengthning from above, and to be very true what *Paul* writes to the *Hebrews* in the 12. Chapter, and Verſe 11. ſaying, *No chaſtening for the preſent ſeemeth to be joyous, but grievous; nevertheleſſe afterward it yeeldeth the peaceable fruit of righteouſneſſe unto them which are exerciſed thereby:* for that very day I found my inward man quiet and peaceable with a full and totall ſubmiſſion unto the holy will of God; which I deſired might be done in earth, in the Sea, and performed and obeyed by me at that preſent, as it is alwayes done in heaven. And although this was my beſt and chief comfort, yet from the creature by the Creators permiſſion I had alſo ſome comfort left in a few piſtols, ſome ſingle, ſome double, which I had ſowed up in my Quilt (which the Captain reſtored unto me, ſaying it was the bed I lay in) and in the doublet which I had at that preſent, which mounted to almoſt a thouſand Crowns, and in their ſearching was not found out. After the Captain and Souldiers had well viewed their prize, they thought of refreſhing their ſtomachs with ſome of our proviſion; the good Captain made a ſtately dinner in our Frigat, and invited me unto it, and knowing that I was going towards the *Havana*, beſides many other brindi's or healths, he drank one unto his mother, deſiring me to ſee her, and to remember him unto her, and how that for her ſake he had uſed me well and courteouſly in what he could; and further at Table he ſaid that for my ſake he would give us our Frigat that we might return again to land, and that I might find out from thence ſome ſafer way and means to get to *Portobello*, and to continue on my journey unto *Spain*. After dinner I conferred with the Captain alone, and told him that I was no *Spaniard*, but an *Engliſh* man born, ſhewing him the Licence which I had from *Rome* to

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go to *England*, and that therefore I hoped, not being of an enemy nation to the *Hollanders*, he would reſtore unto me what goods were mine. But all this was of little conſequence with him, who had already taken poſſeſſion of mine and all other goods in the ſhip: he told me I muſt ſuffer with thoſe, amongſt whom I was found, and that I might as well claime all the goods in the ſhip for mine. I deſired him then to carry me along with him to *Holland*, that from thence I might get to *England*, which alſo he refuſed to do, telling me that he went about from one place to another, and knew not when he ſhould go to *Holland*, and that he was daily ready to fight with any *Spaniſh* ſhip, and if he ſhould fight with the *Spaniards* whilſt I was in his ſhip, his ſouldiers in their hot bloud might be ready to do me a miſchief, thinking I would do them harm, if in fight they ſhould be taken by the *Spaniards*. With theſe his anſwers I ſaw there was no hope of getting again what now was loſt, therefore (as before) I commended my ſelf again to Gods providence and protection. The Souldiers and Mariners of the *Holland* ſhip, made haſt that afternoon, to unlode the goods of our Frigat into their Man of war, which took them up that, and part of the next day, whileſt we as Priſoners were wafting up and down the Sea with them. And whereas we thought our money had ſatisfied them enough, and to the full, we found the next day that they had alſo a ſtomach to our fowles and Bacon, and wanted our Meal to make them bread, and our hony to ſweeten their mouths, and our Hydes for ſhooes and boots; all which they took away, leaving me my Quilt, Books, and braſſe pictures, and to the Maſter of the frigat ſome ſmall proviſion, as much as might carry us to land, which was not far off, and thus they took their leaves of us, thanking us for their good entertainment. And we weary of ſuch gueſts, ſome praying to God that they might never entertain the like again, ſome curſing them all, and eſpecially the Mulatto to hell, calling him Renegado; ſome thanking God for their lives which were given them for a prey, we all returned again to *Suere* from whence we had ſet out, and going up the River, were almoſt like to be caſt away, and loſe our lives, after we had loſt our goods. When we came to land, the *Spaniards* about the Countrey pitied our caſe, and helped us with almes gathering a Collection for us. The three *Spaniards* of my company loſt all their money and moſt of their beſt clothes, yet they had reſerved ſome bils of Exchange for mony to be be taken up at *Portobello*; which I wiſhed I had alſo for what I had loſt. For the preſent we knew not what courſe to take; we thought of going to *Rio de los Anzuelos*, but we were informed that certainly the frigats there were either gone, or would be gone before we could get thither; and if they ſtayed not with the newes of the *Hollanders* ſhips at ſea, they either already were or would be their prize, as we had been. We reſolved therefore with the charitable aſſiſtance of the *Spaniards* about the Countrey to return again to *Carthago*, and from thence to take ſome better directions. In the way we conferred what we had ſaved, the *Spaniards* bragged yet of their bils of Exchange, which would yeeld them money at *Carthago*, I would not let them know what I had ſaved, but ſomewhat I told them I had kept; and we agreed all the way we went to ſignifie nothing but poverty and miſery, that the *Indians* and *Spaniards* in the way might pity and commiſerate us, and our great loſſes. When we came to *Carthago* we were indeed much pitied, and Collections were made for us; and as it was expected from me, that I ſhould ſing again at the Altars (who truely could rather have cried to ſee and conſider my many misfortunes and dyſaſters, which I deſired might at laſt by a ſafe return to *England*, prove the trials of the faith I intended to ſearch out) and that I ſhould preach whereſoever I came; ſo by theſe two wayes, of ſinging and of hudling over *Dominus vobiſcum* and the reſt of the Maſſe, and by accepting of what Sermons were recommended unto me, I began again to ſtore my ſelf with monies. Yet I knew that in ſuch a poor Countrey as that was, where I was little known, I could not poſſibly get enough to bring me home with credit into *England*; and therefore the cunning enemy finding me to ſtand upon my credit, began ſtrongly to tempt me to return again to *Guatemala* (where I doubted not but I ſhould be welcomed and entertained by my friends) and to ſettle my ſelf there, untill I had again by ſacrilegious, baſe, ſuperſtitious, and idolatrous means, and works, made up a new purſe to return with credit home.

But I perceiving that God already had ſhewed himſelf angry, and juſtly taken from me, what by unlawfull means I had in twelve years obtained, bad Satan avaunt, purpoſing

posing never more to return to the flesh pots of *Egypt*, and to go still home-wards, though in the way I did beg my bread. Yet (lest I might be suspected amongst the *Spaniards*, and troubled for not exercising my orders and function) I resolved to take what as to a stranger and traveller for preaching or any other exercise might be offered unto me.

Thus with courage resolving to go on still towards *England*, I enquired at *Carthago* which way I might get to *Portobello*. But this door of hope was fast shut up; though my trust in Gods providence was not weakened In this season, there came to *Carthago* some two or three hundred Mules unsadled or unloaden with some *Spaniards*, *Indians* and *Black-moores*, from the parts of *Cumayagua*, and *Guatemala* to convey them to *Panama* by land, over the mountains of *Veragua* there to be sold. This is the yearly and only trading by land, which *Guatemala*, *Cumayagua*, and *Nicaragua*, hath with *Panama* ouer that narrow *Isthmus* lying between the North, and South sea, which is very dangerous by reason of the craggy wayes, rocks, and mountains, but more especially, by reason of many Heathens, Barbarians and savage people, which as yet are not conquered by the *Spaniards*, and sometimes do great hurt and mischief, and kill those that with Mules passe through their Countrey, especially if they misdemean themselves or please them not well. Yet for all these difficulties, I was entertaining a thought to go along with those Mules and *Spaniards*, which were now on their way by land to *Panama*. The three *Spaniards* were half of the same mind; but the providence of God who better ordereth and disposeth mans affaires then he himself, disappointed these our thoughts for our good and safety, as after we were informed; for we heard for certain at *Nicoya*, that some of those Mules and *Spaniards* were killed by the *Barbarians* and savage *Indians*, amongst whom my life might have been lost, if I had attempted that hard and dangerous journey; from which many well-wishers at *Carthago* did disswade me, both for the danger of the *Indians*, and for the difficulties of the wayes and mountains, which they told me the weakenesse of my body would never indure. After we had wholly desisted from this land journey, the best counsell, that we had from some Merchants our friends, was to try whether *Mar del Zur*, or the South sea, would favour our designe and journey, better then the *Mar del Norte*, or the North sea had done; who wished us to go to *Nicoya*, and from thence to *Chira*, and to the *Golfo de Salinas*, where they doubted not but we should find shipping to *Panama*. We were willing to follow any good advise and counsel; yet we knew that this was the last shift which we could make, and the *non plus ultra* of our hopes, and that if here we should be disappointed, we could expect no other way ever to get to *Panama*, except we should venture our lives most desperately over the Mountains of *Veragua*, and by land without any guide or company through the Countrey of the Barbarians, (who before had slain some *Spaniards* passing that way) or else should return again, all the way that we had come, to *Realejo*, where our hopes might be frustrated, and peradventure no shipping found for *Panama*, without a years waiting for it.

We resolved therefore to follow this our friends counsell, and to go yet to *Nicoya*, and from thence to *Golfo de Salinas*, where laughing, I told the three *Spaniards* of my company that if we were disappointed, we would like *Hercules* set up a Pillar to eternize our fame, with our names, and this inscription upon it, *Non plus Ultra*, for that beyond it there was no other Port, Haven, or place, to take shipping to *Panama*; neither could any man have done more (nor ever did any *English* man in that Countrey do more then my selfe) then we had done, but especially my selfe, who from *Mixco* had thus travelled by land to *Nicoya* at least six hundred leagues, or eighteen hundred *English* miles straight from North to South, besides what I had travelled from *Vera Cruz* to *Mexico*, and from *Guatemala* to *Vera Paz*, and to *Puerto de Cavallos*, or *Golfo dulce*, and from thence to *Truxillo*, and from thence back again to *Guatemala*, which was at least thirteen or fourteen hundred *English* miles more, which I thought to eternize upon a pillar at *Nicoya*. But what there was not erected, I hope here shall be eternized, and that this my true and faithfull History shall be a Monument of three thousand, and three hundred miles travelled by an *English* man, within the main land of *America*, besides other sea navigations to *Panama*, from *Portobel* to *Carthagena*, and from thence unto the *Havana*. The way which we travelled from *Carthago* to *Nicoya* was very mountainous, hard, and unpleasant, for we met with few Estantia's of *Spaniards*, and few *Indian* Towns, and those very poor, small, and all of dejected and wretched people. Yet

Nicoya

Nicoya is a pretty Town, and head of a *Spaniſh* government, where we found one *Juſto de Salazar*, Alcalde Maior, who entertained us very well, and provided lodgings for us for the time that we ſhould abide there, and comforted us with hopefull words, that though for the preſent there was no ſhip or frigat in the Golfe of *Salinas*, yet he doubted not, but very ſhortly one would come from *Panama* thither, for Salt and other commodities, as yearly they were wont. The time of the year when we came thither, was a fit time for me to get again ſome monies after my great loſſe; for it was in Lent which is the Fryers chiefeſt harveſt, who (as I have before obſerved) then by Confeſſions and by giving the Communion get many mony offerings.

The time, and the Franciſcan Fryer who had the Paſtorſhip and charge of that Town, were both very commodious unto me, who could not refuſe as long as I ſtayed there to exerciſe my function, leſt I ſhould bring a juſt cauſe of ſuſpicion and aſperſion upon my ſelf. The Fryer of the Town was a *Portingal*, who about three weeks before my coming thither had had a very great bickering and ſtrife with *Juſto de Salazar* the Alcalde Maior, for defending the *Indians*, whom *Salazar* did grievouſly oppreſſe, employing them in his, and his wives ſervice as ſlaves, and not paying them what for the ſweat of their browes was due unto them, and commanding them to be from their home and from their wives, and from their Church upon the Sabbath, working for him as well that day as any other. Which the Fryer not enduring, charged them in the Pulpit, not to obey any ſuch unlawfull commands from their Alcalde Maior. But *Juſto de Salazar* (who had been trained up in wars and fighting, and had ſerved formerly in the Caſtle of *Milan*) thought it a great diſparagement unto him, now to be curbed by a Fryer, and by ſuch a one to be interrupted in his government of the *Indians*, and in the wayes of his own lucre and gain. Therefore after many bitter words and defiances, which had paſſed between him and the Fryer, he came one day reſolutely to the Fryers houſe with his ſword drawn, and certainly had not the Fryer been aſſiſted by ſome of the *Indians*, he had killed him. The Fryer being as hot as he, and ſtanding upon his calling, Orders and Prieſthood, preſuming that he durſt not touch him violently, leſt his priviledge ſhould bring an excommunication upon the ſtriker and offendour, would not flie from him, but dared him boldly; which was a ſtrong provocation to *Salazars* heat and paſſion, and cauſed him to lift up his ſword, and aime his blow and ſtroke at the Fryer, which fell ſo unhappily that with it he ſtruck off two of the Fryers fingers, and had undoubtedly ſeconded another blow more hurtfull and dangerous to the Fryer, had not the *Indians* interpoſed themſelves, and ſhut up their Prieſt into his chamber. *Juſto* was for this action excommunicated, yet for that he was a man of high authority, he ſoon got off his excommunication from the Biſhop of *Coſtarica*, and ſent his complaint to the Chancery of *Guatemala* againſt the Fryer, where with friends and money he doubted not but to evercome the Mendicant Prieſt, as it happened after; for (as I was informed) he cauſed the Fryer to be ſent for up to the Court, and there prevailed ſo much againſt him, that he got him to be removed from *Nicoya*. In this ſeaſon the Fryer kept his houſe and chamber, and would by no means go out to the Church, either to ſay Maſſe, or to preach, or hear Confeſſions, (all which that time of the year did require of him) but had got one to help him; who alone not being able to performe ſo great a charge of many hundred *Indians*, *Spaniards*, *Black-mores*, and *Mulatto's*, who from the Countrey without, and from the Town within expected to have their Confeſſions heard, their ſins abſolved, the word preached, and the Communion to be given them; hearing of my coming deſired me to aſſiſt and help him, and that for my pains I ſhould have my meat and drink at his table, and a Crown daily for every Maſſe, and whatſoever elſe the people ſhould voluntarily offer, beſides the Sermons, which ſhould be well rewarded unto me. I ſtaied in this Town from the ſecond week of Lent untill Eaſter week, where what with three Sermons at ten Crownes a peece, what with my daily ſtipend and many other offerings, I got about an hundred and fifty Crowns.

The week before Eaſter newes came of a frigat from *Panama* to *Golfo de Salinas*. which much comforted us, who already began to miſtruſt the delay. The Maſter of the frigat came to *Nicoya*, which is as Court thereabout; and with him the three *Spaniards* and my ſelf agreed for our paſſage to *Panama*. About *Chira*, *Golfo de Salinas*, and *Nicoya*, there are ſome farmes of *Spaniards*, few and very ſmall *Indian* Towns, who are all like ſlaves employed by the Alcalde Maior, to make him a kind of thred called

Pita,

Pita which is a very rich Commodity in *Spain*, especially of that colour wherewith it is dyed in these parts of *Nicoja*, which is a purple colour; for the which the *Indians* are here much charged to work about the Sea shore, and there to find out certain shels, wherewith they make this purple die. *Purpura* is a kind of shell fish, whose usuall length of life is seven years, he hides himselfe about the rising of the Dog-star and so continues for 300 dayes, it is gathered in the Spring time, and by a mutuall rubbing of one or other of them together, they yeeld a kind of thick slime like soft wax, but its famous die for garments is in the mouth of the fish, and the most refined juyce is in a white vein, the rest of his body is void and of no use: Your *Segovia* cloth died therewith for the richnesse of the colour is sold at five or six pound the yard, and used only by the greatest *Dons* of *Spain*, and in ancient time only worn by the Noblest *Romans*, and called by the name of *Tyrian Purple*.

There are also shels for other colours, which are not known to be so plentifully in any other place as here. About *Chira* and *Golfo de Salinas* the chief commodities are Salt, Hony, Maiz, some Wheat and Fowles, which every year they send by some few Frigats to *Panama*, which from thence come on purpose to fetch them with this purple coloured thred, or *Pita*, which I have spoken of. The Frigat which came when I was there, was soon laden with these Commodities, and with it we set out hoping to have been at *Panama* within five or six dayes. But as often before we had been crossed, so likewise in this short passage we were striving with the Wind, Sea, and Corrientes, as they are called (which are swift streams as of a River) four full weeks. After the first day that we set out, we were driven with a wind and storme towards *Peru*, till we came under the very Æquinoctiall line, where what with excessive heat, what with mighty stormes, we utterly despaired of life. But after one week that we had thus run towards death, it pleased God in whom and by whom all creatures live, move, and have their being, to comfort us again with hopes of life, sending us a prosperous gale, which drove us out of that Æquinoctiall heat, and stormy Sea, towards the Islands of *Perlas*, and *Puerta de Chame*, lying on the South side of the Mountains of *Veragua*, from whence we hoped within two dayes at the most to be at rest and Anchor at *Panama*. But yet these our hopes were frustrated, for there our wind was calmed, and we fell upon those strong Corrientes or streams, which drave us back in the night for the space of almost a fortnight as much as we had sailed in the day. Had not God again been mercifull here unto us, we had certainly perished in this our striving with the stream; for although we wanted not provision of food, yet our drink failed us so, that for four dayes we tasted neither drop of wine or water, or any thing that might quench our thirst, save only a little hony which we found did cause more thirst in us, which made me and some others to drink our own Urine, and to refresh our mouthes with peeces of lead bullets, which did for a while refresh, but would not long have sufficed Nature, had not Gods good Providence sent us such a wind which in the day drave us quite off from those Corrientes. Our first thoughts were then to strike either to the Continent, or some Island of many which were about us to seek for water, finding our bodies weak and languishing; which the Captain of the Ship would by no means yeeld unto, assuring us that that day he would land us at *Panama*; but we not being able to sail on without drink, unlesse we should yeeld to have our dead and not live bodies landed where he promised, thought it no good purchase though we might buy all *Panama* with our lives, which we judged could not hold out another day; and seeing that the wind began to slacken, we all required him to strike into some Island for water; which he stubbornly refused and denyed to do; whereupon the three *Spaniards* and some of the Mariners mutined against him with drawn Swords, threatning to kill him if he betook not himself presently to some Island. The good Master thought it bad sport to see Swords at his breast, and so commanded his Ship to be turned to two or three Islands, which were not above two or three houres sail from us. When we drew nigh unto them, we cast our Anchor, and our Cock-boat, and happy was he that could first cast himself into it to be rowed to land to fill his belly with water. The first Island we landed upon, was on that side unhabitable, where we spent much time running to and fro, over-heating our selves and increasing our thirst; thus whilst one ran one way, and another tryed another to find out some fountain, our hopes being frustrated and I lost in the Wood, and my shooes torne from my feet, with stony rocks, and many thornes and bushes in other places; my company betook themselves to the Cock-boat to try another Island, leaving me alone, and lost in the Wood; out of which at last when I came, and found the Cock-boat gone from the shoar, I began to consider my self a dead man, thinking that they had found water,

and were gone to Ship, and not finding me would hoise up their sailes for *Panama*. Thus being dejected I cryed out to the Ship, which I perceived could not possibly hear my weak voyce, and running up and down the Rocks to see if I could discover the Cock-boat, I perceived it was not with the Ship, and espied at the next Island. With this I began to hope better things of them, that they would call for me when they had gotten water; so I came down from the Rocks to the plain shore, where I found a shade of trees and amongst them some berries (which might have been poison, for I knew them not) wherewith I refreshed my mouth for a while; but my body so burned that I thought there with heat, weakness and faintness I should have expired and given up the ghost. I thought by stripping my self naked and going into the Sea unto my neck, I might thus refresh my body, which I did, and coming out again into the shade, I fell into a deep sleep, in so much that the Cock-boat coming for me, and the company hollowing unto me, I awaked not, which made them fear that I was dead or lost; till landing, one searched for me one way, and another another, and so they found me, who might have been a prey to some wild Beast, or slept till the Frigat had gone away, and so have perished in a barren and unhabitable Island. When they awaked me, I was glad to see my good company, and the first thing I enquired for, was, if they had got any water; they bad me be of good cheer and arise; for they had water enough, and Oranges and Lemmons from another Island, where they met with *Spaniards* that did inhabit it. I made haste with them to the Boat, and no sooner was I entred into it, but they gave me to drink as much as I would. The water was warme and unsetled, for they could not take it up so but that they took of the gravell and bottome of the Fountain, which made it look very muddy; yet for all this (as though my life had depended upon it) I drank up a whole pot of it; which no sooner had I drank, but such was the weakness of my stomach that it presently cast it up again not being able to bear it. With this they wished me to eat an Orange or a Lemmon; but them also did my stomach reject; so to our Frigat we went, and in the way I fainted so that the company verily thought I would die, before we got aboard. When we came thither I called again for water, which was no sooner down my stomach, but presently up again; they had me to bed with a burning Feaver upon me; where I lay that night expecting nothing but death, and that the Sea should be my grave.

The Master of the Ship seeing the wind was turned, began to be much troubled, and feared that with that wind he should never get to *Panama*. He resolved to venture upon a way, which never before he had tryed; which was, to get between the two Islands which we had searched for water, knowing that the wind, which on this side was contrary, on the other side of the Islands would be favourable unto him. Thus towards the evening he took up Anchor and hoised up his sailes, and resolved to passe his Frigat between the two Islands; which how dangerous and desperate an attempt it was, the event witnessed. I lay in this season (as I may truly say) upon my death-bed, not regarding which way the Master of the Ship, or fortune carried me, so that the mercy of the Lord carryed my soul to heaven. No sooner had the Frigat steered her course between the narrow passage of the two Islands, when being carried with the stream too much to the one side of the land it ran upon a Rock; so that the very stern was lifted up, and almost cast out of the Pilots hands, who cryed out, not to God, but unto the Virgin *Mary*, saying, *Ayudad nos Virgin Santissima, que si no aqui nos perecemos*, help us, O most holy Virgin, for if not, here we perish. This, and the outcry of all that were in the Frigat gave unto me an Alarm of death, from the which yet it pleased God by the means and diligence of the painfull Mariners to deliver me and all the Company, for with much ado most part of that night they haled from the Cock-boat the Frigat off from the Rock, after the stream had made it three severall times to strike upon it. After a very troublesome night in the morning we got our little ship out of all danger and from between the two Islands on the other side of them, where we sailed prosperously towards *Panama*. That morning my stomach recovered some of its lost strength, and I began to eat and to drink, and to walk about, rejoycing much to see those pleasant Islands which we sailed by. In the Evening we got to *Puerto de Perico*; where we cast Anchor, expecting to be searched in the morning; but that night (the Master of our Ship having gone to shoar) the wind turned and blew so strong that we lost our Anchor, and were driven back almost to *La Pacheque* and feared we should be carried out into the Ocean again so far that we should with great difficulty get to *Panama*. But that God whom the Sea and winds do obey, turned again that contrary wind into a prosperous gale, wherewith we came once more unto *Perico*; and being

searched

searched we went on with full sail to *Panama*; being neer the Port and without an Anchor in our ship the wind once more blew us back, and had not the Ship-master sent us an Anchor, we had gone again to *Pacheque* or further. But with that Anchor we stayed all that night at *Perico*, wondring among our selves that so many crosses should befall us, wch. made some say that we were bewitched; others, that certainly there was amongst us some excommunicated person, whom they said if they knew of, they would hurl him over bord. Whilst they were in this discourse, the wind turned yet again, and we levying our anchor went on to *Panama*, whither it pleased God that time safely to conduct us in. I being now well strengthned made no stay in that frigat, which I thought would have been my last abiding place in this world, but went to land and betook my self to the Cloister of the Dominicans, where I stayed almost fifteen days viewing and reviewing that City; which is governed like *Guatemala* by a President and six Judges, and a Court of Chancery, and is a Bishops sea. It hath more strength towards the South sea, then any other Port which on that side I had seen, and some Ordinances planted for the defence of it; but the houses are of the least strength of any place that I had entred in; for lime and stone is hard to come by, and therefore for that reason, and for the great heat there, most of the houses are built of timber and bords; the Presidents house, nay the best Church wals are but bords, which serve for stone and brick, and for tiles to cover the top. The heat is so extraordinary that a linnen cut doublet, with some slight stuffe or taffety breeches is the common cloathing of the inhabitants. Fish, fruits and herbage for sallets is more plentifull there then flesh; the cool water of the Coco is the womens best drink, though Chocolatte also, and much Wine from *Peru* be very abounding. The *Spaniards* are in this City much given to sin, looseneſſe and venery especially, who make the *Black-mores*, (who are many, rich and gallant) the chief objects of their lust. It is held to be one of the richest places in all *America*, having by land and by the river *Chiagre* commerce with the North sea, and by the South, trading with all *Peru*, *East-India's*, *Mexico* and *Honduras*. Thither is brought the chief treasure of *Peru* in two or three great ships, which lie at anchor at *Puerto de Perico* some three leagues from the City; for the great ebbing of the sea at that place especially, suffereth not any great vessell to come neerer, where dayly the sea ebs and fals away from the City two or three miles, leaving a mud, which is thought to cause much unhealthineſſe in that place, being seconded with many other muddy and mooriſh places about the Town. It consisteth of some five thousand inhabitants, and maintaineth at least eight Cloisters of Nuns and Fryers. I feared much the heats, and therefore made as much hast out of it as I could. I had my choice of company by land and water to *Portobello*. But considering the hardneſſe of the mountains by land, I resolved to go by the river *Chiagre*; and so at midnight I set out from *Panama* to *Venta de Cruzes*, which is ten or twelve leagues from it. The way is thither very plain for the most part, and pleasant in the morning and evening.

Before ten of the clock we got to *Venta de Cruzes*, where live none but *Mulatto's* and *Black-mores*, who belong unto the flat boats that carry the merchandize to *Portobel*. There I had very good entertainment by that people, who desired me to preach unto them the next Sabbath day, and gave me twenty Crowns for a Sermon, and procession. After five dayes of my abode there, the boats set out, which were much stopped in their passage down the River; for in some places we found the water very low, so that the boats ran upon the gravell; from whence with poles and the strength of the *Blackmores* they were to be lifted off again; sometimes again we met with such streams that carried us with the swiftneſſe of an arrow down under trees and boughs by the river side, which sometimes also stopped us till we had cut down great branches of trees. Had not it pleased God to send us after the first week plentifull rain, which made the water run down from the mountains and fill the river (which otherwise of it self is very shallow) we might have had a tedious and longer passage; but after twelve dayes we got to the sea, and at the point landed at the Castle to refresh our selves for half a day. Certainly the *Spaniards* trust to the streames and shallowneſſe of that river, which they think will keep off any forain nation, from attempting to come up to *Venta de Cruzes* and from thence to *Panama*, or else they would strengthen more and fortifie that Castle, which in my time wanted great reparations, and was ready to fall down to the ground. The Governour of the Castle was a notable Wine-bibber, who plyed us with that liquor the time that we stayed there, and wanting a Chaplain for himself, and Souldiers, would fain have had me staied with him; but greater

matters called me further, and ſo I took my leave of him, who gave us ſome dainties of freſh meat, fiſh, and conſerves, and ſo diſmiſſed us. We got out to the open Sea, diſcovering firſt the *Eſcudo de Veragua*, and keeping ſomewhat cloſe unto the land, we went on rowing towards *Portobel*, till the evening, which was Saturday night; then we caſt anchor behind a little Iſland, reſolving in the morning to enter into *Portobel*. The *Blackmores* all that night kept watch for fear of *Hollanders*, whom they ſaid did often lie in wait thereabouts for the boats of *Chiagre*; but we paſſed the night ſafely, and next morning got to *Portobello*, whoſe haven we obſerved to be very ſtrong, with two Caſtles at the mouth, and conſtant watch within them, and another called *St. Miguel* further in the Port.

When I came into the Haven, I was ſorry to ſee that as yet the Galeons were not come from *Spain*, knowing that the longer I ſtayed in that place, greater would be my charges. Yet I comforted my ſelf that the time of the year was come, and that they could not long delay their coming. My firſt thoughts were of taking up a lodging, which at that time were plentifull and cheap, nay ſome were offered me for nothing, with this caveat, that when the Galeons did come, I muſt either leave them, or pay a dear rate for them. A kinde Gentleman, who was the Kings Treaſurer, falling in diſcourſe with me, promiſed to help me, that I might be cheaply lodged even when the ſhips came, and lodgings were at the higheſt rate. He, interpoſing his authority, went with me to ſeek one, which at the time of the Fleets being there, might continue to be mine. It was no bigger then would contain a Bed, a Table, and a Stool or two, with room enough beſides to open and ſhut the dore, and they demanded of me for it, during the foreſaid time of the Fleet, ſixſcore Crowns, which commonly is a fortnight. For the Town being little, and the Souldiers that come with the Galeons for their defence at leaſt four or five thouſand; beſides Merchants from *Peru*, from *Spain*, and many other places to buy and ſell, is the cauſe that every room, though never ſo ſmall, be dear; and ſometimes all the lodgings in the Town are few enough for ſo many people, which at that time do meet at *Portobel*. I knew a Merchant who gave a thouſand Crowns for a ſhop of reaſonable bigneſſe, to ſell his wares and commodities that yeer that I was there, for fifteen dayes only, which the Fleet continued to be in that haven. I thought it much for me to give the ſixcore Crowns which were demanded of me for a room, which was but a Mouſe-hole, and began to be troubled, and told the Kings Treaſurer that I had been lately robbed at Sea, and was not able to give ſo much, and be beſides at charges for my diet, which I feared would prove as much more. But not a farthing would be abated of what was asked; whereupon the good Treaſurer pitying me, offered to the man of the houſe to pay him threeſcore Crowns of it, if ſo be that I was able to pay the reſt, which I muſt doe, or elſe lie without in the ſtreet. Yet till the Fleet did come, I would not enter into this dear hole, but accepted of another fair lodging which was offered me for nothing. Whileſt I thus expected the Fleets coming, ſome money and offerings I got for Maſſes, and for two Sermons which I preached at fifteen Crowns a piece. I viſited the Caſtles, which indeed ſeemed unto me to be very ſtrong; but what moſt I wondred at was to ſee the requa's of Mules which came thither from *Panama*, laden with wedges of ſilver; in one day I told two hundred Mules, laden with nothing elſe, which were unladen in the publick Market-place, ſo that there the heaps of ſilver wedges lay like heaps of ſtones in the ſtreet, without any fear or ſuſpicion of being loſt. Within ten dayes the Fleet came, conſiſting of eight Galeons, and ten Merchants ſhips, which forced me to run to my hole. It was a wonder then to ſee the multitude of people in thoſe ſtreets which the week before had been empty.

Then began the price of all things to riſe, a fowl to be worth twelve Rials, which in the main land within I had often bought for one; a pound of beef then was worth two Rials, whereas I had had in other places thirteen pound for half a Rial, and ſo of all other food and proviſion, which was ſo exceſſive dear, that I knew not how to live but by fiſh and Tortoiſes, which there are very many, and though ſomewhat dear, yet were the cheapeſt meat that I could eat. It was worth ſeeing how Merchants ſold their commodities, not by the Ell or Yard; but by the Piece and Weight, not paying in coyned pecces of money, but in Wedges, which were weighed and taken for commodities. This laſted but fifteen dayes, whileſt the Galeons were lading with Wedges of ſilver, and nothing elſe; ſo that for thoſe fifteen dayes, I dare boldly ſay and avouch, that

that in the world there is no greater Fair then that of *Portobel*, between the *Spaniſh* Merchants, and thoſe of *Peru*, *Panama*, and other parts thereabouts.

Whileſt this traffick was, it happened unto me that which I have formerly teſtified in my Recantation Sermon at *Pauls* Church, which if by that means it have not come unto the knowledge of many, I deſire again to record it in this my Hiſtory, that to all *England* it may be publiſhed; which was, that one day ſaying Maſſe in the chief Church, after the Conſecration of the bread, being with my eyes ſhut at that mentall prayer, which the Church of *Rome* calleth the *Memento* for their dead, there came from behinde the Altar a Mouſe, which running about, came to the very bread or Wafer-god of the Papiſts, and taking it in his mouth, ran away with it, not being perceived by any of the people who were at Maſſe, for that the Altar was high, by reaſon of the ſteps going up to it, and the people far beneath. But as ſoon as I opened my eyes to go on with my Maſſe, and perceived my God ſtoln away, I looked about the Altar, and ſaw the Mouſe running away with it; which on a ſudden did ſo ſtupifie me, that I knew not well what to do or ſay, and calling my wits together, I thought that if I ſhould take no notice of the miſchance, and any body elſe in the Church ſhould, I might juſtly be queſtioned by the Inquiſition; but if I ſhould call to the people to look for the Sacrament, then I might be but chid and rebuked for my careleſſeneſſe, which of the two I thought would be more eaſily borne, then the rigor of the Inquiſition. Whereupon not knowing what the people had ſeen, I turned my ſelf unto them, and called them unto the Altar, and told them plainly, that whileſt I was in my *Memento* prayers and meditations, a Mouſe had carryed away the Sacrament, and that I knew not what to do, unleſſe they would help me to finde it out again. The people called a Prieſt that was at hand, who preſently brought in more of his Coat, and as if their god by this had been eaten up, they preſently prepared to finde out the thief, as if they would eat up the Mouſe that had ſo aſſaulted and abuſed their god; they lighted candles and torches to finde out the Malefactor in his ſecret and hidden places of the wall; and after much ſearching and inquiry for the ſacrilegious beaſt, they found at laſt in a hole of the wall the Sacrament half eaten up, which with great joy they took out, and as if the Ark had been brought again from the *Philiſtines* to the *Iſraelites*, ſo they rejoyced for their new-found god, whom with many people now reſorted to the Church, with many lights of Candles and Torches, with joyfull and ſolemne muſick they carried about the Church in proceſſion. My ſelfe was preſent upon my knees, ſhaking and quivering for what might be done unto me, and expecting my doome and judgement; and as the Sacrament paſſed by me, I obſerved in it the marks and ſignes of the teeth of the Mouſe, as they are to be ſeen in a piece of Cheeſe gnawne and eaten by it.

This ſtruck me with ſuch horror, that I cared not at that preſent whether I had been torne in a thouſand pieces for denying publickly that Mouſe-eaten god, I called to my beſt memory all Philoſophy concerning Subſtance and Accident, and reſolved within my ſelf, that what I ſaw gnawn, was not an accident, but ſome reall ſubſtance eaten and devoured by that vermin, which certainly was fed and nouriſhed by what it had eaten, and Philoſophy well teacheth, *ſubſtantia cibi (non accidentis) convertitur in ſubſtantiam aliti*, the ſubſtance (not the accident of the food or meat) is converted and turned into the ſubſtance of the thing fed by it and alimented: Now here I knew that this Mouſe had fed upon ſome ſubſtance, or elſe how could the marks of the teeth ſo plainly appear? But no Papiſt will be willing to anſwer that it fed upon the ſubſtance of Chriſts body, *ergo* by good conſequence it follows that it fed upon the ſubſtance of bread; and ſo Tranſubſtantition here in my judgement was confuted by a Mouſe; which mean and baſe creature God choſe to convince me of my former errors, and made me now reſolve upon what many yeers before I had doubted, that certainly the point of Tranſubſtantiation taught by the Church of *Rome*, is moſt damnable and erroneous; for beſides what before I have obſerved, it contradicteth that Philoſophicall Axiome, teaching that *duo contradictoria non poſſunt ſimul & ſemel de eodem verificari*, two contradictories cannot at once and at the ſelf ſame time be ſaid and verified of the ſame thing; but here it was ſo; for here in *Romes* judgement and opinion Chriſts body was gnawn and eaten, and at the ſame time the ſame body in another place, and upon another Altar in the hands of another Prieſt was not eaten and gnawn: Therefore here are two contradictories verified of the ſame body of Chriſt:

to wit, it was eaten and gnawn, and it was not eaten and gnawn. Theſe impreſſions at that time were ſo great in me, that I reſolved within my ſelf, that bread really and truely was eaten upon that Altar, and by no means Chriſts glorious body, which is in heaven, and cannot be upon earth ſubject to the hunger or violence of a creature. Here again I deſired with godly *David*, that I might have the wings of a Dove to fly into my Countrey of *England*, and there be ſatisfied upon this point, and be at reſt of conſcience. Here I reſolved that if I had been queſtioned for my careleſneſſe, or for my contempt of that *Romiſh* Sacrament (which I thought would be the judgement of the *Spaniards*, who knew me to be an *Engliſh* man born) that I would ſacrifice willingly my life for the Proteſtant truth, which as yet I had been no otherwiſe taught, but by that Spirit which (as *Solomon* well obſerveth) in a man is the candle of the Lord. I conceived here that this was ſome comfort to my ſoul, which my good God would afford me in the way of my travelling to *Canaan*, that I might more willingly bear whatſoever croſſes yet might befall me in my way and journey to *England*. The event of this accident was not any trouble that fell upon me for it; for indeed the *Spaniards* attributed it unto the careleſneſſe of him who had care of the Altars in the Church, and not to any contempt in me to the Sacrament. The part of the wafer that was left after the Mouſe had filled her belly, was laid up after the ſolemne proceſſion about the Church, in a Tabernacle for that purpoſe, that afterwards it might be eaten up by ſome hungry Prieſt. And becauſe ſuch a high contempt had been offered by a contemptible Vermin to their Bread-god, it was commanded through *Portobel* that day, that all the people ſhould humble themſelves and mourne, and faſt with Bread and Water onely. Although I ſaw I was not queſtioned for the caſe, yet I feared where there were ſo many Souldiers and forain people, that by ſome or other I might be miſchiefed out of their blinde zeal, wherefore I thought it not amiſſe for a day or two to keep within my lodging. *Don Carlos de Ybarra*, who was the Admirall of that Fleet made great haſte to be gone; which made the Merchants buy and ſell apace, and laid the ſhips with ſilver wedges; whereof I was glad, for the more they laded, the leſſe I unladed my purſe with buying dear proviſion, and ſooner I hoped to be out of that unhealthy place, which of it ſelf is very hot, and ſubject to breed Feavers, nay death, if the feet be not preſerved from wetting when it raineth; but eſpecially when the Fleet is there, it is an open grave, ready to ſwallow in part of that numerous people, which at that time reſort unto it, as was ſeen the yeer that I was there, when about five hundred of the Souldiers, Merchants, and Mariners, what with Feavers, what with the Flux cauſed by too much eating of fruit, and drinking of water, what with other diſorders, loſt their lives, finding it to be to them not *Porto bello*, but *Porto malo*. And this is uſuall every year; and therefore for the relief and comfort of thoſe that come ſick from Sea, or ſicken there, a great and rich Hoſpitall is in the Town, with many Fryers, called *De la Capacha*, or by others, *De Juan de Dios*, whoſe calling and profeſſion is onely to cure and attend upon the ſick, and to bear the dead unto their graves. The Admirall fearing the great ſickneſſe that year, made haſte to be gone, not fearing the report that was of ſome three or foure *Holland* or *Engliſh* ſhips abroad at Sea, waiting (as it was ſuppoſed) for ſome good prize out of that great and rich Fleet. This news made me begin to fear, and to think of ſecuring my ſelf in one of the beſt and ſtrongeſt Galeons; but when I came to treat of my paſſage in one of them, I found that I could not be carryed in any under three hundred Crowns, which was more then my purſe was able to afford. With this I thought to addreſſe my ſelf to ſome Maſter of a Merchants ſhip, though I knew I could not be ſo ſafe and ſecure in any of them, as in a Galeon well manned and fortified with Souldiers, and Guns of Braſſe; yet I hoped in God, who is a ſtrong refuge to them that fear him, and in this occaſion provided for me a cheap and ſure paſſage. For meeting one day with my friend the Treaſurer, he again pitying me as a ſtranger, and lately robbed, commended me to the Maſter of a Merchant ſhip, called St. *Sebaſtian*, whom he knew was deſirous to carry a Chaplain with him at his owne Table. I no ſooner addreſſed my ſelf unto him, uſing the name and favour of his and my friend the Treaſurer, but preſently I found him willing to accept of my company, promiſing to carry me for nothing, and to board me at his owne Table, onely for my prayers to God for him and his, offering further to give me ſome ſatisfaction for whatſoever Sermons I ſhould preach in his ſhip. I

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bleſſed God, acknowledging in this alſo his providence, who in all occaſions furthered my return to *England*. The ſhips being laden we ſet forth towards *Carthagena*, and the ſecond day of our ſailing we diſcovered foure ſhips, which made the Merchant ſhips afraid, and to keep cloſe to the Galeons, truſting to their ſtrength more then their owne. The ſhip I was in, was ſwift and nimble under ſail, and kept ſtill under the wings either of the Admirall or of ſome other of the beſt Galeons; but all the other Merchant ſhips were not ſo, but ſome ſlowly came on behinde, whereof two were carryed away by the *Hollanders* in the night, before ever we could get to *Carthagena*.

The greateſt fear that I perceived poſſeſſed the *Spaniards* in this Voyage, was about the Iſland of *Providence*, called by them *Sta Catalina*, or St. *Katharine*, from whence they feared leſt ſome *Engliſh* ſhips ſhould come out againſt them with great ſtrength. They curſed the *Engliſh* in it, and called the Iſland the den of Theeves and Pirates, wiſhing that their King of *Spain* would take ſome courſe with it, or elſe that it would prove very prejudiciall to the *Spaniards*, lying neer the mouth of the *Deſaguadero*, and ſo endangering the Frigats of *Granada*, and ſtanding between *Portobel* and *Carthagena*, and ſo threatning the Galeons, and their Kings yeerly and mighty treaſure.

Thus with bitter invectives againſt the *Engliſh* and the Iſland of *Providence*, we ſailed on to *Carthagena*, where again we met with the foure ſhips which before had followed us, and had taken away two of our ſhips, and now at our entring into that Port threatned to have carried away more of our company; which they might have done, if they would have ventured to have come upon the ſhip wherein I went, which at the turning about the land point to get into the Haven, ran upon the ſhore, which if it had been rocky, as it was ſandy and gravelly, had certainly there been caſt away, by keeping too neer unto the land; from which danger by the care of the Mariners, and their active pains, we were ſafely delivered, as alſo from the ſhips which followed us as far as they durſt for fear of the Canon ſhot of the Caſtle; and thus we entred into the Haven of *Carthagena*, and ſtayed there for the ſpace of eight or ten dayes, where I met with ſome of my Countrey-men their Priſoners, who had been taken at Sea by the *Spaniards*, and belonged unto the Iſland of *Providence*, among whom was the renowned Captain *Rouſe*, and about a dozen more, with whom I was glad to meet, but durſt not ſhew them too much countenance, for fear of being ſuſpected; yet I ſoon got the good will of ſome of them, who being deſtined to *Spain*, were very deſirous to go in the ſhip wherein I went, which deſire of theirs I furthered, and was ſuiter unto my Captain to carry foure of them in his ſhip, which for my ſake he willingly yeelded unto; amongſt theſe was one *Edward Layfield* (who afterwards ſetting out of St. *Lucar* for *England*, was taken captive by the *Turks*, and ſince from *Turkey* writ into *England* unto me to help to releaſe him) with whom both at *Carthagena*, and in the way in the ſhip I had great diſcourſe concerning points of Religion, and by him came to know ſome things profeſſed in *England*, which my conſcience (whileſt I lived in *America*) much inclined unto. I was much taken with his company, and found him very officious unto me, whoſe kindneſſe I requited by ſpeaking for him in the ſhip to the Maſter and Mariners, who otherwiſe were ready and forward to abuſe him and the reſt of the *Engliſh* company, as priſoners and ſlaves.

At *Carthagena* we heard a report of threeſcore ſail of ſhips of *Hollanders* waiting for the Galeons, which ſtruck no little fear into the *Spaniards*; who called a councel whether our Fleet ſhould winter there, or go on to *Spain*. It proved to be but a falſe report of the Inhabitants of *Carthagena*, who for their owne ends and lucre would willingly have had the Ships and Galeons to have ſtayed there; but *Don Carlos de Ybarra* replyed, that he feared not a hundred ſail of *Hollanders*, and therefore would go on to *Spain*, hoping to carry thither ſafely the Kings treaſure. Which he performed, and in eight dayes arrived at *Havana*, where we ſtayed eight dayes longer, expecting the Fleet from *Vera Cruz*. In which time I viewed well that ſtrong Caſtle manned with the twelve guns, called the twelve Apoſtles, which would do little hurt to an Army by land, or marching from the River of *Matanſos*. I viſited here the Mother of that Mulatto, who had taken away all my means at Sea, and ſpent much time in comforting my poor Countrey-men the priſoners, but eſpecially that gallant Captain *Rouſe*, who came unto me to complain of ſome affronts which had been offered unto him by the *Spaniards* in the ſhip wherein he came; which he not being able to put up, though

though a Prisoner unto them, desired to question in the field, challenging his proud contemners to meet him if they durst in any place of the *Havana*, (a brave courage in a dejected and imprisoned *English* man to challenge a *Spaniard* in his Countrey, a Cock upon his owne dunghill,) which as soon as I understood by *Edward Layfield*, I desired to take up, fearing that many would fall upon him cowardly and mince him small in pieces. I sent for him to the Cloister where I lay; and there had conference with him, prevailing so far as that I made him desist from his thoughts of going into the field, and shewing his manhood in such a time and place, where his low condition of a Prisoner might well excuse him. The rest of my poor Countrey men were here much discouraged, and in some want, whom I relieved (especially *Layfield*) and encouraged as much as I was able. I chanced here to have occasion to take a little physick before I went again to Sea, and thereby I learned what before I never knew, to wit, the dyet which on such a day the best Physicians of *Havana* prescribe unto their patients. Whereas after the working of my physick, I expected some piece of Mutton, or a Fowl, or some other nourishing meat, my Physician left order that I should have a piece of rosted Pork, which seeming unto me a dyet contrary to that dayes extremity, I began to refuse it, alledging to my Doctor the contrary course of all Nations, the naturall quality of that meat to open the body. To which he replyed, that what Porke might work upon mans body in other Nations, it worked not there, but the contrary; and so he wished me to feed upon what he had prescribed, assuring me that it would do me no hurt. Now as Hogs flesh there is held to be so nourishing, so likewise no other meat is more then it and Tortoises, wherewith all the ships make their provision for *Spain*. The Tortoises they cut out in long thin slices, as I have noted before of the Taffajos, and dry it in the wind after they have well salted it, and so it serveth the Mariners, in all their Voyage to *Spain*, which they eat boyled with a little garlick, and I have heard them say, that to them it tasted as well as any Veal. They also take into their Ships some Fowles for the Masters and Captains tables, and live Hogs, which would seem to be enough to breed some infection in the Ship, had they not care to wash often the place where such unclean beasts lie. In the ship where I was passenger, was killed every week one for the Masters, Pilots, and Passengers table. Thus all things being made ready for the ships provision to *Spain*, and the Merchants goods, and the Kings Revenue being shipped in nine dayes that we abode there; we now wanted nothing, but onely the company of the Fleet from *Vera Cruz*, which should have met us there upon the eight day of *September*. But *Don Carlos de Ybarra*, seeing it stayed longer then the time appointed, and fearing the weather, and the New Moon of that moneth which commonly proveth dangerous in the Golf of *Bahama*, resolved to stay no longer, but to set out to *Spain*. On a Sabbath day therefore in the morning, we hoised sails (being in all seven and twenty ships with those which had met with us there from *Honduras* and the Islands) and one by one we sailed out of *Havana* to the main Sea, where we that day wafted about for a good wind, and also waiting for our guide, which was not yet come out of the Havana, to guide us through the Gulf of *Bahama*. But that night we wished our selves again in the Havana, thinking that we were compassed about with a strong Fleet of *Hollanders*, many ships came amongst us, which made us provide for a fight in the morning, A Councel of War was called, and all that night watch was kept, the Guns prepared, red Cloths hung round the ships, Orders sent about both to the Galeons and to the Merchant ships what posture and place to be in. That which I was in, was to attend the Admirall, which I hoped would be a strong defence unto us: Our men were couragious and ready to fight, though I liked not such Martial businesse and discourse; but for me a place was prepared where I might lie hid, and be safe among some barrels of bisket, I had all the night enough to doe, to hear the Confessions of those in the ship, who thought they could not die happily with the shot of a *Holland* Bullet, untill they had confessed all their sins unto me, who towards morning had more need of rest, then of fighting, after the wearying of my ears with hearing so many wicked, grievous, and abominable sins. But the dawning of the day discovered our causeless fear, which was from friends, and not from any enemies or *Hollanders*; for the ships which were joyned unto us in the night, were as fearfull of us, as we of them, and prepared themselves likewise to fight in the morning, which shewed unto us their Colours, whereby we knew that they were the Fleet which we expected from *Vera Cruz*, to goe along with

with us to *Spain*. They were two and twenty Sail, which little thought to finde us out of the Havana, but within the Haven lying at Anchor, waiting for their coming, and therefore in the night feared us much more then we them. But when the day cleared our doubts, fears and jealousies, then began the Martiall colours to be taken down, the joyfull sound of Trumpets, with the help of *Neptunes* Kingdomes ecchoed from ship to ship, the boats carryed welcoming messages from one to another, the *Spanish* Brindis with *buen Viaje*, *buen Passaje*, was generally cryed out, the whole morning was spent with friendly acclamations and salutations from ship to ship. But in the midst of this our joy and Sea-greetings, we being now in all two and fifty Sail, (yet we not knowing well how many they were from *Vera Cruz*, nor they how many we were from the *Havana*) two ships were found amongst us, (whether *English* or *Hollanders*, we could not well discover, but the *English* prisoners with me told me they thought one was a ship of *England* called the *Neptune*) which having got the wind of us, singled out a ship of ours (which belonged to *Dunkerke*, and from St. *Lucar* or *Cales* had been forced to the Kings service in that voyage to the *India's*, laden with Sugars and other rich commodities, to the worth of at least fourscore thousand Crowns; and suddenly giving her a whole broad side (receiving a reply onely of two Guns) made her yeeld, without any hope of help from so proud and mighty a Fleet, for that she was somewhat far stragled from the rest of the ships. The whole businesse lasted not above half an hour, but presently she was carryed away from under our noses; the *Spaniards* changed their merry tunes into *voto a dios*, and *voto a Christo*, in raging, cursing and swearing, some reviling at the Captain of the ship which was taken, and saying that he was false, and yeelded on purpose without fighting, because he was forced to come that Voyage; others cursing those that took her, and calling them *hijos de puta*, *Borrachos*, *infames Ladrones*, Bastards, Drunkards, infamous Theeves, and Pyrates; some taking their swords in their hands, as if they would there cut them in pieces, some laying hold of their Muskets, as if they would there shoot at them, others stamping like mad men, and running about the ship, as if they would leap over bord, and make haste after them; others grinning their teeth at the poor *English* prisoners that were in the ship, as if they would stab them for what (they said) their Countrey-men had done. I must needs say, I had enough to do to hold some of those furious and raging brains from doing *Layfield* some mischief, who more then the rest would be smiling, arguing, and answering their outragious nonsense. Order was presently given to the Vice-Admiral and two more Galeons to follow and pursue them; but all in vain, for the wind was against them, and so the two ships laughing and rejoycing as much as the *Spaniards* cursed and raged, sailed away *con Viento en Popa*, with full Sail, gallantly boasting with so rich a prize taken away from two and fifty ships, or (as I may say) from the chiefest and greatest strength of *Spain*.

That afternoon the Fleet of *Vera Cruz*, took their leave of us, (not being furnished with Provision to go on to *Spain* with us) and went into the *Havana*; and we set forwards toward *Europe*, fearing nothing for the present but the Gulf of *Bahama*, through which we got safely with the help and guidance of such Pilots, which our Admirall *Don Carlos* had chosen, and hired for that purpose.

I shall not need to tell thee my Reader of the sight which we had of St. *Angustine*, *Florida*, nor of many stormes which we suffered in this Voyage, nor of the many degrees we came under, which made us shake with cold more then the Frost of *England* do in the worst of Winter; onely I say, that the best of our Pilots not knowing where they were, had like to have betrayed us all to the Rocks of *Bermuda*, one night, had not the breaking of the day given us a fair warning that we were running upon them. For which the *Spaniards* in stead of giving God thanks for their delivery out of that danger, began again to curse and rage against the *English*, which inhabited that Island, saying, that they had inchanted that and the rest of those Islands about, and did still with the devill raise storms in those Seas when the *Spanish* Fleet passed that way. From thence when we had safely escaped, we sailed well to the Islands called *Terceras*, where fain we would have taken in fresh water, (for that which we had taken in at *Havana*, now began to stink, and look yellow, making us stop our noses, whilest we opened our mouths,) but rigid *Don Carlos* would not pity the rest of his Company, who led us by the Islands; and that night following we all wished our selves in some harbour of them; for (though in their conceit

ceipt thoſe Iſlands were not inchanted by *Engliſh* men, but inhabited by holy and Idolatrous Papiſts) we were no ſooner got from them, when there aroſe the greateſt ſtorme that we had in all our voyage from *Havana* to *Spain*, which laſted full eight dayes, where we loſt one ſhip & indangered two Galeons, which ſhot off their warning peeces for help, and made us al ſtay and wait on them, til they had repaired their Tacklings and main Maſt. We went on ſometimes one way, ſometimes another, not well knowing were we were, drinking our ſtinking water by allowance of pints, till three or foure dayes after the ſtorme was ceaſed, we diſcovered land, which made all cry out, *Hiſpania, Hiſpania, Spain, Spain*; whileſt a Counſell was ſummoned by the Admirall to know what land that was, ſome ſold away barrels of bisket, others of water, to thoſe that wanted (every one thinking that it was ſome part of *Spain*) but the reſult of the wiſe Counſell was, after they had ſailed neerer to the land, and had layed and loſt many wagers about it, that it was the Iſland of *Madera*, which made ſome curſe the ignorance of the Pilots, and made us all prepare our ſelves with patience for a longer voyage. It pleaſed God from the diſcovery of this Iſland, to grant us a favorable wind to *Spain*, where within twelve dayes we diſcovered *Cales*; and ſome of the ſhips there left us, but moſt of them went forward to *San Lucar*, as did the ſhip wherein I went; when we came neer to the dangerous place, which the *Spaniards* call *La Barra*, we durſt not venture our ſhips upon our Pilots own knowledge; but called for Pilots to guide us in, who greedy of their lucre came out in boats almoſt for every ſhip one. Upon the eight and twentieth of *November*, 1637. we caſt anchor within St. *Lucar de Barameda* about one of the clock in the afternoon, and before evening other paſſengers and my ſelf went a ſhoar (having firſt been ſearched) and although I might preſently have gone to the Cloiſter of St. *Dominick*, where my old Fryer *Pablo de Londres* was yet living, whom I knew would be glad of my coming from the *India's*, yet I thought fit the firſt night to enjoy my friends company both *Spaniards* and *Engliſh*, (who had come ſo long a voyage with me) in ſome Ordinary, and to take my reſt better abroad then I ſhould do in a Cloiſter, where I expected but a poor Fryers ſupper, a hard and mean lodging, many fooliſh queſtions from old Fryer *Pablo de Londres* concerning the *India's*, and my abode there ſo many years, and finally the noiſe of Bels and ratlers to rouſe up the drowſie Fryers from their ſleep to Matines at midnight. That night therefore I betook my ſelf to an *Engliſh* Ordinary, where I refreſhed my ſelf and my poor priſoners, (who by the Maſter of the ſhip were committed to my charge that night and forwards upon my word, ſo as to be forth coming when they ſhould be called) and the next morning I ſent my honeſt friend *Layfield* with a letter to the Cloiſter to old *Pablo de Londres*, who upon my ſummons came joyfully to welcome me from the *India's*, and after very little diſcourſe told me of ſhips in the Haven ready to ſet out for *England*. The old Fryer being of a decrepit and doting age, thought every day a year that I ſtayed there, and ſuſpended my Voyage for *England*, and (not knowing the ſecrets of my heart) judged already that the Converſion or turning of many Proteſtant ſouls to Popery waited for my coming, which made him haſten me, who was more deſirous then he to be gone the next day, if I might have found wind, weather and ſhipping ready. But God, who had been with me in almoſt ninety dayes ſailing from *Havana* to *San Lucar*, and had delivered me from many a ſtorme, prepared and furthered all things in a very ſhort time for the laſt accompliſhment of my hope and deſire, to return to *England* my native ſoil, from whence I had been abſent almoſt for the ſpace of four and twenty years.

My firſt thought here in St. *Lucar*, was to caſt off now my Fryers weed, that outward ſheepskin, which covers many a wolviſh, greedy and covetous heart under it; which doubtleſſe is the ground, why in *Germany*, in the Proteſtant and *Lutheran* Towns, when the boyes and yong men ſee a Fryer go along their ſtreets, they cry out to the neighbours, ſaying, a Wolfe, a Wolfe, ſhut your doors; meaning, that though what they wear ſeem to be *pellis ovina*, or *Agnina*, a ſheep or Lambskin and their condition of mortified, humble and meek men, yet under it lyeth *cor Lupinum*, a Wolves heart, greedy of ſome prey, either worldly, of wealth and riches, or ſpirituall, of ſeducing, deceiving and miſleading poor ſoules. Such was the habit, which now I deſired to ſhake off, which was a white Coat or gown hanging to the ground girded about with a leathern belt, and over it from the ſhoulders downward a white Scapulary (ſo called there) hanging ſhorter then the gown both before and behind, and over that a white hood to cover the head, and laſtly, over that a black cloak with another black hood; both which together,

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the black and white make the Fryers of that profeſſion look juſt like Mag-pies, and is acknowledged by the Church of *Rome* it ſelf in a verſe which they fain of Mr. *Martin Luther*, (with what juſt ground I know not) ſaying of his former life and profeſſion before his Converſion, *Bis Corvus, bis Pica fui, ter fune ligatus.* I was twice a Crow, twice a Magpie, and thrice was bound or tyed with a Cord; by a Crow meaning an Auguſtine Fryer, who is all in black; by a Magpie, meaning a Dominican; and by bound with a rope or cord, meaning a Franciſcan, who indeed is girded about with a cord made of hemp. Though the Dominican Magpie by this his habit make ſuch a gloſſe and underſtanding, which is contrary to his life and converſation; for by his outward black habit, he ſaith, is ſignified an outward ſhew of deadneſſe and mortification to the world, and by his inward white habit, an inward purity and chaſtity of heart, thoughts and life; both which truely are little ſeen in thoſe Fryers eſpecially, who outwardly are worldly, and living to the world, covetous and ambitious of honours, preferments, Biſhoprickes, and places of publick reading and preaching; and therefore have by favour obtained many places of authority, as by the laws of *Aragon* to be the King of *Spain* his Ghoſtly father, to be Maſters of the Popes Palace, and there to read a leſſon of Divinity, to be chief heads of the Inquiſition, and from theſe places to be promoted to ſit in the Councell of the State in *Spain*, or to be Cardinals in *Rome*, and ſo Popes, or to injoy the richeſt and fatteſt Biſhopricks and Arch-biſhopricks in *Spain*, *Italy*, and *India's*, which ſheweth how little they are dead to the world, nay how they are living to the world and its preferments, contrary to the black and dead colour of their habits. So likewiſe do they not live according to the whiteneſſe of their inward habits, whoſe lives are found impure and unchaſt, as I could exemplifie at large, ſhewing what baſe and unclean acts have been committed by ſome of that profeſſion in the Low Countries, in *Spain*, in the *India's*, in *Italy*, nay here in *England* by one *Dade* the Superior of them, by one *Popham* well known to be a good fellow, and ſtill at this day abiding in the *Spaniſh* houſe, by one *Crafts* and others, which would be too too long a digreſſion from the whiteneſſe of their habit. But I applying the Allegory of this black and white habit otherwiſe unto my ſelf, and in the outward black part of it ſeeing the foulneſſe and filthineſſe of my life and Idolatrous Prieſthood in the exerciſe of that profeſſion, and Orders which from *Rome* I had received; and in the white inward habit conſidering yet the purity, and integrity of thoſe intentions and thoughts of my inward heart, in purſuance whereof I had left what formerly I have noted, yea all *America*, which, had I continued in it, might have been to me a Mine of wealth, riches and treaſure; I reſolved here therefore to caſt off that hypocriticall cloak and habit, and to put on ſuch Apparell whereby I might no more appear a Wolfe in ſheepskin, but might go boldly to my Countrey of *England*, there to ſhew and make known the Candor of my heart, the purity and ſincerity of my thoughts, which had brought me ſo far, by a publick profeſſion of the pure truths of the Goſpell, without any invention or addition of man unto it. With the ſmal means therefore which was left me after ſo long and almoſt a whole years journey from *Petapa* to St. *Lucar* (having yet about a hundred Crows) I gave order for a ſute of Cloathes to be made by an *Engliſh* Taylor, which I willingly put on, and ſo prepared my ſelf for *England*. Three or four ſhips were in readineſſe, who had only waited for the Fleet, to take in ſome Commodities, eſpecially ſome wedges of ſilver, of which I was with old *Pablo de Londres*, in doubt which to chooſe. The firſt that went out was thought ſhould have been my lot, in the which my friend *Layfield* imbarked himſelf (for all the *Engliſh* priſoners were there freed to go home to their Countrey) and from which the great providence of God diverted me, or elſe I had been this day with *Layfield* a ſlave in *Turkey*; for the next day after this ſhip ſet out, it was taken by the *Turkes*, and carried away for a rich prize, and all the *Engliſh* in it for priſoners to *Argell*. But God (who I hope had reſerved me for better things,) appointed for me a ſafer convoy home in a ſhip (as I was informed) belonging to Sir *William Curtin*, under the command of an honeſt *Flemming*, named *Adrian Adrianzen* living at *Dover* then, with whom I agreed for my paſſage and dyet at his Table. This ſhip ſet out of the Bar of St. *Lucar* the ninth day after my arrivall thither, where it waited for the company of four ſhips more, but eſpecially for ſome *Indian* wedges of ſilver, which upon forfeiture of them it durſt not take in within the Bar and Haven.

And thus being now cloathed after a new faſhion and ready to lead a new life; being now changed from an *American* into the faſhion of an *Engliſh* man, the tenth day after my abode in *San Lucar*, I bad adieu to *Spain* and all *Spaniſh* faſhions, factions, and carri-

ages

I bad farewell my old Fryer *Pablo de Londres*, with the reſt of my acquaintance, and ſo in a boat went over the Bar to the ſhip, which that night in company of four more ſet forward for *England*. I might obſerve here many things of the goodneſſe of *Adrian Adrianzen*, and his good carriage towards me in his ſhip, which I will omit, having much more to obſerve of the goodneſſe of God, who favoured this our voyage with ſuch a proſperous wind, and without any ſtorm at all, that in thirteen dayes we came to *Dover*, where I landed, the ſhip going on to the *Downes*. Others that landed at *Margaret* were brought to *Dover*, and there queſtioned and ſearched; but I, not ſpeaking *Engliſh*, but *Spaniſh*, was not at all ſuſpected, neither judged to be an *Engliſh* man; and ſo after two dayes I took poſt in company of ſome *Spaniards* and an *Iriſh* Colonel, for *Canterbury* and ſo forward to *Graveſend*. When I came to *London*, I was much troubled within my ſelf for want of my Mother tongue, (for I could only ſpeak ſome broken words) which made me fearfull I ſhould not be acknowledged to be an *Engliſh* man born. Yet I thought my kindred (who knew I had been many years loſt) would ſome way or other acknowledge me, and take notice of me, if at the firſt I addreſſed my ſelf unto ſome of them, untill I could better expreſſe my ſelf in *Engliſh*. The firſt therefore of my name, whom I had notice of, was my Lady *Penelope Gage*, widow of Sir *John Gage*, then living in St. *Jones*; to whom the next morning after my arrivall to *London*, I addreſſed my ſelf for the better diſcovery of ſome of my Kindred; whom though I knew to be Papiſts, and therefore ought not to be acquainted with my inward purpoſe and reſolution; yet for fear of ſome want in the mean time, and that I might by their means practice my ſelf in the uſe of my forgotten native tongue, and that I might enquire what childs part had been left me by my father, that I might learne ſome faſhions, and laſtly, that in the mean time, I might ſearch into the Religion of *England*, and find how far my conſcience could agree with it, and be ſatisfied in thoſe ſcruples which had troubled me in *America*, for all theſe reaſons I thought it not amiſſe to look and enquire after them. When therefore I came unto my Lady *Gage*, ſhe believed me to be her kinſman, but laughed at me, telling me, that I ſpake like an *Indian* or *Welch* man, and not like an *Engliſh* man; yet ſhe welcomed me home, and ſent me with a ſervant to a Brothers lodging in *Long Aker*, who being in the Countrey of *Surry*, and hearing of me ſent horſe and man for me to come to keep Chriſtmas with an Uncle of mine living at *Gatton*; by whom as a loſt and forgotten Nephew, and now after four and twenty years returned home again, I was very kindly entertained, and from thence ſent for to *Cheam*, to one Mr. *Fromand* another kinſman, with whom I continued till after twelfth day, and ſo returned again to *London* to my Brother.

Thus my good Reader, thou ſeeſt an *American*, through many dangers by Sea and Land, now ſafely arrived in *England*; and thou mayeſt well with me obſerve the great and infinite goodneſſe and mercy of God towards me a wicked and wretched ſinner. How I have anſwered to this Gods gracious calling me from ſo far and remote a Countrey, to do him ſervice here, I will ſhew thee in the Chapter following, and ſo conclude this my long and tedious Hiſtory.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

Shewing how, and for what causes, after I had arrived in England, I *took yet another journey to* Rome, *and other parts of* Italy, *and returned again to settle my self in this my Countrey.*

NOW Reader, as the stone that is falling, the neerer it cometh to its Center, the more haste it maketh: so I, the neerer I am coming to the conclusion of this my History, more haste I desire to make in this last Chapter, for the completing and finishing of it. With brevity therefore I will relate some of my travels in *Europe*, in which I will yeeld to many of my Nation; but for *America*, and my travels and experience there, I dare boldly challenge all travellers of my Countrey. After my return to *London* from *Surrey*, I began to expostulate with my younger Brother (knowing he had been present at my Fathers death, and had a chief hand in the ordering and executing his last Will and Testament) concerning what childes part was left unto me. To which he made me answer, that my Father had indeed left him, and my Brother the Colonel, and two other Sons by a second Wife, and my own Sister, every one somewhat, but to me nothing, nay that at his death he did not so much as remember me; which I could not but take to heart, and called to minde the angry and threatning Letter which I had received from him in *Spain*, because I would not be a Jesuite. Though for the present I said nothing, yet afterwards in many occasions I told my Brother I would have the Will produced, and would by course of Law demand a childes part; but he put me off, assuring me I should never want amongst other my friends & kindred, with whom he knew I should be wel accommodated as long as I continued in *England*. After few dayes that I had been in *London*, my kinsman at *Cheam* desired me to come to live with him, where I continued not long; formy Uncle at *Gatton* invited me to his house, offering me there meat, drink, lodging, horse and man, with twenty pound a year, which he promised in other wayes to make as good as thirty. Here I continued a twelve moneth, refining my self in my native tongue, and (though altogether unknown to my Uncle and kindred) searching into the Doctrine and truth of the Gospel professed in *England*; for which cause I made many journeys to *London*, and then privately I resorted to some Churches, and especially to *Paul's* Church to see the Service performee, and to hear the Word of God preached; but so, that I migh not be seen, known, or discovered by any Papist. When in *Paul's* Church I heard the Organs and the Musick, and the Prayers and Collects; and saw the Ceremonies at the Altar, I remembred *Rome* again, and perceived little difference between the two Churches. I searched farther into the Common-prayer, and carryed with me a Bible into the Countrey on purpose to compare the Prayers, Epistles and Gospels with a Masse Book, which there I had at command, and I found no difference but onely *English* and *Latine*, which made me wonder, and to acknowledge that much remained still of *Rome* in the Church of *England*, and that I feared my calling was not right. In these my scruples coming often to *London*, and conversing with one *Dade*, *Popham*, and *Crafts*, *Connel* and *Brown*, *English* and *Irish* Dominican Fryers, I found their wayes and conversations base, lewd, light and wanton, like the *Spanish* and *Indian* Fryers, which made me again reflect upon the Popish Church, upheld by such pillars. I came yet to the acquaintance of one *Price*, Superiour to the Benedictine Monks, whom I found to be a meer State-man, and a great Politician, and very familiar, private, and secret with the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *William Laud*; in conversation with my Brother, who belonged then unto one Signior *Con*, the Popes Agent, and was in such favour at the Court, that he was sent over the Queen with a rich present to a Popish Idol, named our Lady of *Sichem*, in the *Low Countreys*) I heard him sometimes say, that he doubted not but to be shortly Curate and Parish Priest of *Coven Garden*, sometimes that he hoped to be made Bishop in *England*, and that then I should want for nothing, and should live with him till he got me another Bishoprick; by which discourse of his, and by his and other Priests favour at Court and with the Archbishop I perceived things went not well, *Spanish* Popery was much rooted, Protestant Religion much corrupted, and the time not seasonable for me to dis-

cover my ſecret intents and purpoſe of heart. At this time coming once from *Surrey* to *London*, I chanced to be diſcovered and known to one of the State-Officers, a Purſevant, who had a large Commiſſion for the apprehending of Seminary Prieſts and Jeſuites, named *John Gray*, who meeting me one day in *Long Aker*, followed and dogged me as far as *Lincolns-Inne* wall, where he clapped me on the ſhoulders, and told me, that he had a Commiſſion againſt me, to apprehend me, and carry me to the Councel Table, or to one of his Majeſties Secretaries. To whom I ſpoke in *Spaniſh* (thinking thereby to free my ſelf out of his hands for a *Spaniard:*) but this would not do, for he replyed he knew me to be an *Engliſh* man born, and by the name of *Gage*, and Brother to Colonel *Gage*, and Mr. *George Gage*, and that before he left me, I muſt ſpeak in *Engliſh* to him; he carryed me to a Tavern, and there ſearched my pockets for Letters and money, which in diſcourſe he told me, was too little for him (not being above twelve ſhilling) and that I muſt goe with him to anſwer before one of his Majeſties Secretaries. I told him, I would willingly go before the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, or before Sir *Francis Windebank*; at which he ſmiled, ſaying, I knew well whom to make choyce of to favour and protect me, but he would carry me to none of them, but to Secretary *Cooke*. I fearing the buſineſſe might go hard with me, and knowing him to be greedy of money, told him that I would give him any thing that might content him, and ſo offered him twelve ſhillings then about me, and my word to meet him in any place the next day, with a better and fuller purſe. He accepted of my money for the preſent, and further offer for the day following, and appointed the *Angel* Tavern in *Long Aker*, (knowing that I lodged thereabout) to be the place of our meeting, and ſo diſmiſſed me. I being free from him, went immediately to my Brother, and told him what had happened unto me, what money I had already given to him, and what I had promiſed the next day following. My Brother hearing me, began to chafe and vex, and to fall into furious words againſt *John Gray*, calling him Knave and Rogue, and that he could not anſwer what he had done, and that he would have his Commiſſion taken from him, chiding me for that I had given him any money, and calling me young novice, and unexperienced in the affairs of *England*. This ſeemed ſtrange to me, that my Brother ſhould not onely not fear a Purſevant, but ſhould threaten to take away the Commiſſion from him, who was appointed to ſearch for and finde out Prieſts and Jeſuites. Yet I told him I would according to my word and promiſe meet him the next day, and ſatisfie him for his fair carriage towards me; to which my Brother would by no means yeeld, but ſaid he would meet him; which he accordingly performed, and although for my ſake and promiſe he gave him ſome money, yet he brought him before Signor *Con*, and there himſelfe and the Popes Agent with him, ſpake moſt bitter words unto him, and threatned him very much if ever again he durſt meddle with me.

After this my Brother carryed me to one Sir *William Howard* a Papiſt Knight, living at *Arundel* gate over *Clements* Church, who was very familiar with Sir *Francis Windebanke*, telling him what had hapned unto me, and deſiring him to carry me with him in his Coach to Sir *Francis*, and to get his protection for me. Secretary *Windebanke* underſtanding who I was, told me, I ſhould fear no Purſevant of them all, and that if I lived quietly in *England*, no body ſhould trouble me, and that *John Gray* was a Knave, and wiſhed me if ever he medled with me again, to come unto him. Though for the preſent this was good and commodious for me to have ſuch favour and protection, yet I perceived, this my Brothers power, and this conniving of Prieſts and Jeſuites could not be uſefull for me, if I ſhould publiſh my minde and purpoſe to alter my Religion. I was therefore much troubled in minde, and conſcience, which I found was curbed with the great power of the Papiſts. I reſolved therefore to go again out of *England*, and to travell in ſome other Countreys, amongſt both Papiſts and Proteſtants, and to try what better ſatisfaction I could finde for my conſcience at *Rome* in that Religion, or in *France* and *Germany* amongſt the Proteſtants. I writ therefore to the Generall of the Dominicans at *Rome*, (without whoſe Licenſe I could not goe thither) that he would be pleaſed to ſend me his Letters Patents, to go to conferre ſome points with him, which he willingly granted unto me. I wanted not money from my Uncle (who commended unto me ſome buſineſſe to be diſpatched for him at *Rome*) for ſo long a Journey, other friends alſo helped me; but my chief truſt was upon my Brother Colonel *Gage*, then in the *Low Countreys*, whom I knew

not

no, nor had seen him from a childe. I had no other Passe to take shipping at *Dover*, but onely the Letter of a Papist in *London* (by means of one *Popham* a Dominican Fryer) to Sir *John Manwood* his Lady, who was then Governour of *Dover* Castle, and with the aforesaid Letter suffered me not to be troubled, examined or searched, but gave order that I should freely and quietly passe over in the Packet-boat to *Dunkerke*, wherewith in four hours with a good wind I arrived, and from thence by *Newport* and *Bridges* went to *Gant*; not far from whence my Brother with his Regiment lay in field against the *Hollander*. He was glad to see me, and knowing what Journey I was minded to take, furnished me with more money, and for my Uncles businesse, recommended me to the Marques *de Seralvo* (then at *Brussels*) and to other great men, desiring them to give me their Letters to their friends at *Rome*; from them I got a Letter to *Don Francisco Barbarini*, the Popes Nephew, and one of the chief Cardinals then in *Rome*; likewise to Cardinal *Cucua*, and Cardinal *Albornos*, both *Spaniards*. With these Letters I thought I should have occasion of some conversation with these pillars of the Church of *Rome*, and in discourse might pry into the hearts and wayes of them, and see whether in them were more policy then Religion. By reason of the Wars between *France* and the *Low Countries*, I durst not make my Journey the neerest and shortest way through *France*; but though there were Wars also in *Germany*, I thought that would be my safest way, and I desired much to look into the Protestant and *Lutheran* Church in that Countrey. Whereupon I resolved from *Brussels* to go to *Namurs*, and from thence by water to *Leidge*, and from thence to *Collen* in *Germany*. From *Leidge* to *Collen*, though we were twelve in Company, we were much troubled with Souldiers, yet God still delivered me, and brought me safe to *Collen*; from whence by the River *Rhine* I went in boat to *Frankefort* in *September*, at the time of that great Fair, where I knew I should meet company of Merchants to any part of *Italy*. In all my Travels I never made a more pleasant Journey then that which I made by the River *Rhine*, where I had occasion to see many fair and goodly Cities. In *Frankefort* there I began to take notice of the *Lutheran* Church, and for the space of a fortnight that I stayed there, had many thoughts of discovering my self there, and disclaiming Popery, thinking that there I might be sure and safe, and lie hid and unknown to my Brothers and kindred, who in *England* would not suffer me to live a Protestant. Yet again I considered how hard it would be for me a stranger to subsist there, and to get any livelyhood, for the which I must first get the Native tongue, and though many points that were opposite to the Church of *Rome* pleased me, yet in some points of that Religion my conscience was not satisfied. At the end of the Fair I sought out for company, and found neer a dozen Wagons which were upon setting out towards *Auspurg*, with goods of Merchants, who had also hired a Convoy of thirty Souldiers to go along with them; which I thought would be safe company for me; with them, and many other passengers and travellers that went in the Wagons, and on foot, by them, I went as far as the famous and gallant City of *Auspurg*; from whence forward there was no great danger, neither in what part belonged to the Duke of *Bavaria*, nor in the County of *Tirol*: from whence we passed some four together to *Trent*; where I was taken with the first Ague that ever in my life I remembred I had, which continued 7 moneths upon me. I thought from thence to have continued my journey by land to *Venice*, but my Ague suffered me to go but to *Verona*; from whence I turned to *Millan*, and so to *Genoua*, leaving my good company; that from *Genoua* I might go by Sea to *Ligorne*, and so likewise to *Rome*. After a fortnights stay in *Genoua*, I went with the Galleys of the great Duke of *Florence* to *Ligorne*, where I found no Boats ready to *Rome*, and so in the mean time, whilest they were preparing, I went to *Pisa* and *Florence* to see those brave Cities, and returned again to *Ligorne*, where I found many boats ready to set out to *Rome*.

The first night and day we had a fair wind to *Piombino*; but there it turned, and continued contrary for almost three weeks. At last it pleased God to send us a fair wind, wherewith we went out many Boats and Falluco's in company together, thinking all had been friends; but when we came neer to the Castle of *Montalto*, most of the Boats having got before us, two that went in company with the Boat wherein I was, suddenly set upon us, and shewed themselves to be *French* Pirates, who robbed us all, and took from me all the money I had, which was not then above five pound, leaving me some Bils of Exchange which I had to take up money at *Rome*: after we

were robbed we called in at *Civita Vecha*, for relief, where I met with a good *English* Merchant, who freely bestowed upon me provision both of wine and meat, as much as would well suffice me and a friend to *Rome*, whither we got in a day and night. When I came to *Rome*, I delivered my Letters to the Cardinals; of whom the two *Spaniards* I found proud and stately; but *Don Francisco Barbarini*, (who was intituled the Protector of *England*) I found more tractable, kind, and loving. I perceived by his discourse that he knew much of *England*, and desired to know more; and propounded unto me many questions concerning the state of this Kingdome, and especially concerning the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, whom he seemed to affect, and yet sometime again would say, he feared he would cause some great disturbance in our Kingdome, and that certainly for his sake and by his means the King had dissolved lately the Parliament (which was that which before this now sitting was so suddenly dissolved by his Majesty) which he feared *Scotland* and most of the people of *England*, would take very ill. He asked me further what conceit the people had of the said Archbishop, and whether they did not mistrust that he complyed with the Court of *Rome*. And lastly, he told me that he thought the creating of an *English* Cardinall at *Rome*, might be of great consequence for the conversion of the whole Kingdome. I laid up in my heart all this discourse, and well perceived some great matters were in agitation at *Rome*, and some secret complyance from *England* with that Court, which I purposed to discover more at large among some friends there.

After this discourse with the Cardinall, I was invited to the *English* Colledge to dinner, by one Father *Fitzherbert*, who was then Rector, a great Statesman and Politician, with whom I had also great discourse concerning my Brother Colonel *Gage*, concerning my travels in *America*, and lastly concerning *England*, whereof I perceived little discourse could be had in *Rome*, except the Archbishop *William Laud* had his part and share in it. The Jesuite began highly to praise the Arch-prelate for his moderate carriage towards Papists and Priests, boasting of the free acceese which one *Simons*, *alias Flood* a Jesuite, had unto him at all hours, and in all occasions; and to extoll him the more, he brought in the Archbishop *Abbot*, whom he cryed down as much for a cruell enemy and persecutor of the Church of *Rome*, and of all Papists and Priests. But the now Archbishop, said he, is not onely favourable unto us there, but here desireth to make daily demonstrations of his great affection to this our Court and Church; which he shewed not long since in sending a Common-prayer Book, (which he had composed for the Church of *Scotland*) to be first viewed and approved of by our Pope and Cardinals. Who perusing it, liked it very well, for Protestants to be trained in a form of Prayer and Service; yet considering the State of *Scotland*, and the temper and tenents of that people, the Cardinals (first giving him thanks for his respect and dutiful complyance with them) sent him word that they thought that form of Prayer was not fitting for *Scotland*, but would breed some stir and unquietnesse there, for that they understood the *Scots* were averted from all set forms, and would not be tyed and limited to the invention of mans spirit, having (as they thought) the true and unerring Spirit of God in them, which could better teach and direct them to pray. All this (said Father *Fitzherbert*) I was witnesse of, who was then sent for by the Cardinals (as in all like occasions and affairs concerning *England*, to give them my opinion concerning the said Commonprayer Book, and the temper of the *Scots*. But the good Archbishop (quoth he) hearing the censure of the Cardinals concerning his intention and Form of Prayer, to ingratiate himself the more into their favour, corrected some things in it, and made it more harsh and unreasonable for that Nation, which we already hear they have stomached at, and will not suffer it in many parts to be read; and we justly fear, that this his Common-prayer Book, and his great complyance with this Court, will at last bring strife and division between the two Kingdomes of *Scotland* and *England*.

And this most true Relation of *William Laud* late Archbishop of *Canterbury*, (though I have often spoken of it in private discourse, and publickly preached it at the Lecture of *Wingham* in *Kent*) I could not in my conscience omit it here; both to vindicate the just censure of death, which the now sitting Parliament have formerly given against him, for such like practises and compliance with *Rome*; and secondly, to reprove the ungrounded opinion and error of some ignorant and malignant spirits, who to my knowledge have since his death highly exalted him, and cryed him up for a Martyr. At the same

time

time whileſt I was at *Rome*, I underſtood of another great buſineſſe concerning *England*, then in agitation amongſt the Cardinals, and much proſecuted by this *Fitzherbert*, and one Father *Courtney* a Jeſuite, Son to one Sir *Thomas Leeds*, which was, to create one of the *Engliſh* Nation Cardinal, that ſo the converſion of *England*, what by the aſſiſtance of *William Laud*, what by the power of a higher perſon, and what by the authority of the ſaid Cardinal, might be more fully and earneſtly plotted and endevoured. This buſineſſe was much agitated in *England* by Signior *Con*, at whoſe houſe in *Long Aker* were many meetings of the chief Gentry of the Papiſts. In *Rome* Sir *VVilliam Hamilton* then Agent for the Queen, vied much for the ſaid Cardinals Cap, and got a great number of friends to further this his ambitious deſigne. But he was too young, and ſome ſcandal of a Gentlewoman, who ſtuck too cloſe to him, made the red Cap unfit for his head; and ſecondly, becauſe a greater then he, to wit, Sir *Kenelham Digby* was appointed by the Qu. to be her Agent there; who ſent before him his Chaplain, a great Politician and active Prieſt, named *Fitton*, to take up his lodging and make way, and friends for his ambitious preferment; who in his daily diſcourſe cryed up his Maſter *Digby* for Cardinal, and told me abſolutely that he doubted not but he would carry it. But though he had great favour from the Queen, and was her Agent, yet he had ſtrong Antagoniſts in *Fitzherbert*, *Courtney*, and the reſt of the crue of the Jeſuites, who looked upon that honor and red Cap as better becoming one of their profeſſion, and fitter for a head which had formerly worne a four cornered black Cap, to wit, Sir *Toby Mathy*. But in caſe the ſaid Cap ſhould fall from Sir *Toby* his head, then they would help and further a third, whoſe birth and Nobility ſhould advance him before Sir *Kenelham Digby*, to wit, *VValter Mountague*, the old Earl of *Mancheſter* his Son at that time.

And thus it was a general and credible report in *Rome*, that either a *Digby*, a *Mathy*, or a *Mountague* ſhould that yeer be made Cardinal. Whereby I perceived that *England* was coming neer to *Rome*, and that my deſigne of profeſſing and following the truth in *England*, was blaſted, and that in vain I had come from *America* for ſatisfaction of my conſcience in *England*. I was more troubled now then ever, and deſired to try all wayes, if I could be better ſatisfied concerning the Popiſh Religion in *Rome*, *Naples*, or *Venice*, (whither I went) then I had been in *America*, and among the *Spaniards*. But I found ſuch exorbitances and ſcandals in the lives of ſome Cardinals of *Rome*, whileſt I was there eſpecially in *Don Antonio Barbarini*, and Cardinal *Burgeſi*, who at midnight was taken by the *Corchetes* or Officers of Juſtice in uncivil wayes, and came off from them with money, that I perceived their Religion was but as I had found it in *America*, a wide and open dore to looſeneſſe and policy, and the like in *Naples* and *Venice*, which made me even hate what before I had profeſſed for Religion, and reſolve, if I could not live in *England*, and there injoy my conſcience, that I would live in *France* for a while, until I had well learned that tongue, and then aſſociate my ſelf unto the beſt reformed Proteſtant Church: Whereupon I obtained from the Generall of the Dominicans this enſuing Order to live in the Cloyſter of *Orleans*, intending from thence at my beſt opportunity to go to *Paris*, *Lyons*, or ſome other place, and ſhake off my Magpie habit, and to live and die in *France* in the true Proteſtant and reformed Religion as profeſſed there.

In Dei filio ſibi Dilecto Reverendo Patri Fratri Thomæ Gageo *Provinciæ Anglicanæ Ordinis Prædicatorum Frater Nicolaus Rodulfius totius ejuſdem Ordinis Magiſter Generalis ac ſervus in Domino ſalutem.*

Conventui noſtro Aurelianenſi Provinciæ noſtræ Franciæ de probo & optimo Patre Sacerdote providere cupientes, Tenore præſentium, & noſtri authoritate officii ſupra nominatum Reverendum Patrem Fratrem Thomam Gageum *revocamus te à quovis alio Conventu, & Aſſignamus in dicto Conventu noſtro Aurelianenſi Aſſignatumque declaramus, in Nomine Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus Sancti,* Amen. *Mandantes Rdo. admodum Patri Magiſtro Priori illius, ut te benigne recipiat, & cum omni charitate tractet. In quorum fidem his officii noſtri ſigillo munitis propria manu ſubſcripſimus. Datum Suriani die nono Aprilis,* 1640.

Frater Nicolaus Magiſter Ordinis.

Frater Ignatius Ciantes Magiſter Provincialis Angliæ, & Socius.

The Form whereof (as alſo the manner of ſending Fryers from one Cloiſter to live in another, commonly called by them an Aſſignation) is in *Engliſh* as followeth.

To our Beloved in the Son of God, the Reverend Father Fryer Thomas Gage, *of the* Engliſh *Province, of the Order of Preachers, Fryer* Nicholas Rodulfius *of the ſame whole Order Maſter Generall, and Servant in the Lord, health and greeting.*

WE being willing and deſirous to provide for our Convent of *Orleans*, of our Province of *France*, of an honeſt and very good Father and Prieſt; by Tenour of theſe preſent, and by the authority of our Office do recall you the above named Reverend Fryer *Thomas Gage*, from any other Convent, and do Aſſigne you in our ſaid Convent of *Orleans*, and declare you to be aſſigned, in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghoſt, *Amen.* Commanding the very Reverend Father Maſter Prior thereof, that he receive you courteouſly, and entertain you with all love and charity. In witneſſe whereof with our owne hand we have ſubſcribed theſe, being ſealed with the ſeal of our Office. Dated at *Soriano* the nineth day of *Aprill*, 1640.

Fryer Nicholas *Maſter of the Order.*

Fryer Ignatius Ciantes *Maſter Provinciall of* England *and Companion.*

Yet after I had got this Order, I bethought my ſelf further that I would try one way, which was to ſee if I could finde out a Miracle, which might give me better ſatisfaction of the *Romiſh* Religion then had the former experience of my life, and the lives of the Prieſts, Cardinals, and all ſuch with whom I had lived in *Spain* and *America*. I had heard much of a Picture of our Lady of *Loretto*, and read in a Book of Miracles or Lies concerning the ſame, that whoſoever prayed before that picture in the ſtate of mortall ſin, the picture would diſcover the ſin in the ſoul by bluſhing, and by ſweating. Now I framed this Argument to my ſelf, that it was a great ſin, the ſin of unbelief, or to waver and ſtagger in points of Faith; but in me (according to the Tenents of *Rome*) was this ſin, for I could not believe the point of Tranſubſtantiation, and many other; therefore (if the Miracles which were printed of the foreſaid Lady of *Loretto* were true, and not lies, certainly ſhe would bluſh and ſweat, when ſuch an unbeleever as I prayed before her. To make this tryall, I went purpoſely to *Loretto*, and kneeling down before God, not with any faith I had in the picture; I prayed earneſtly to the true Searcher of all hearts, that in his Son Jeſus Chriſt he would mercifully look upon me a wretched ſinner, and inſpire and enlighten me with his Spirit of truth, for the good and ſalvation of my ſoul. In my prayer I had a fixed and ſetled eye upon the Ladies picture, but could not perceive that ſhe did either ſweat or bluſh, wherewith I aroſe up from my knees much comforted and encouraged in my reſolution to renounce and abandon Popery, and ſaying within my ſelfe as I went out of the Church, Surely if my Lady neither ſweat nor bluſh, all is well with me, and I am in a good way for ſalvation, and the miracles written of her are but lies. With this I reſolved to follow the truth in ſome Proteſtant Church in *France*, and to relinquiſh error and ſuperſtition. Upon which good purpoſe of mine, I preſently perceived the God of truth did ſmile, with what I heard he was ordering in *England* by an Army of *Scotland*, raiſed for Reformation, and by a new Parliament called to *Weſtminſter*, at which I ſaw the Papiſts and Jeſuites there began to tremble, and to ſay, that it would blaſt all their deſignes, and all their hopes of ſetling Popery; *William Land* his policy was now condemned and curſed, *Con* was dead at *Rome*, the Cardinals Cap for one of the three forenamed was no more ſpoken of, *Fitton* was daunted, *Fitzherbert* and *Courtney* quite diſheartened,

heartened, Sir *Kenelham Digby* his Agency and coming to *Rome* put off and ſuſpended, and with all this good news I was much heartned and encouraged to leave off my journey to *France*, and to return into *England*, where I feared not my Brother, nor any kindred, nor the power of the Papiſts, but began to truſt in the protection of the Parliament, which I was informed would reform Religion, and make ſuch Laws as ſhould tend to the undermining all the Jeſuites plots, and to the confuſion and ſubverſion of the *Romiſh* errors and Religion. I was too weak of body to make my journey by Land (by reaſon of my long Ague which had but newly left me) and ſo reſolved to go to *Ligorne* to find out ſhipping there; where I found four or five ſhips of *Engliſh* and *Hollanders* ready to ſet out, but were bound to touch at *Lisboe* in their way. I bargained with one Captain *Scot* for my paſſage, firſt to *Lisboe*, intending there to make a ſecond bargain. We had no ſooner ſailed on as far as to the Coaſt of *France*, joyning to the Dutchy of *Savoy*, but preſently from *Canes* came out part of a Fleet lying there, under the command of the Biſhop of *Burdeaux* to diſcover us, and take us for a lawfull prize. might ſay much here of the valour of the good old Captain *Scot*, who ſeeing all the other ſhips had yeelded to the *French* men of War, would upon no tearms yeeld to be their prize, (which they challenged becauſe we were bound for *Lisboe*, then their enemies Countrey) but would fight with them all, & at laſt rather blow up his ſhip, then to deliver the goods which had been intruſted to him by the Merchants of *Ligorne*. We were in a poſture to fight, our guns ready, and Mariners willing to die that day, which was heavy news to me. After much treaty between the *French* and our valorous Captain, who ſtill held out, and would not yeeld, there came up to us two ſhips to give us the laſt warning, that if we yeelded not, they would immediately ſet our ſhip on fire. With this all the paſſengers and many more in the ſhip deſired the Captain to yeeld upon ſome fair Articles for the ſecuring of what goods he had for *England*, and ſhould appear were not any way for the ſtrengthening of any enemies to the State and Kingdome of *France*. With much adoe our Captain was perſwaded, and we were carryed with the reſt into *Canes* for a lawful prize. I ſeeing that the ſhips were like to be ſtayed there long, obtained the Biſhop of *Burdeaux* his Paſſe to go to *Marſells*, and from thence by land through *France*. Which being granted, I went by water to *Tolou*, and from thence to *Marſells*, and ſo in company of Carriers to *Lions*, and from thence to *Paris*, *Roan*, and *Deep*, where in the firſt Packet-boat to *Rye* I paſſed over to *England*, where I landed upon *Michaelmas* day the ſame yeer that this preſent Parliament began to ſit the *November* following. My Brothers Spirit I found was not much daunted with the new Parliament, nor ſome of the proudeſt Papiſts, who hoped for a ſudden diſſolving of it. But when I ſaw their hopes fruſtrated by his Majeſties conſent to the continuing of it, I thought the acceptable time was come for me, wherein I ought not to diſſemble any further with God, the world, and my friends, and ſo reſolved to bid adieu to fleſh and blood; and to prize Chriſt above all my kindred, to own and profeſſe him publickly, maugre all oppoſition of hell and kindred to the contrary. I made my ſelf firſt known to Dr. *Brunrick*, Biſhop of *Exeter*, and to Mr. *Shute* of *Lumbard-ſtreet*, from whom I had very comfortable and ſtrong incouragements. The Biſhop of *Exeter* carryed me to the Biſhop of *London* then at *Fullom*, from whom I received order to preach my Recantation Sermon at *Pauls*: which done, I thought I muſt yet do more to ſatisfie the world of my ſincerity, knowing that Converts are hardly believed by the common ſort of people, unleſſe they ſee in them ſuch actions which may further diſclaim *Rome* for ever for the future. Whereupon I reſolved to enter into the ſtate of Marriage (to which God hath already given his bleſſing) which the Church of *Rome* diſavows to all her Prieſts. What I have been able to diſcover for the good of this State I have done, and not ſpared (when called upon) to give in true evidence upon my Oath againſt Jeſuites, Prieſts and Fryers; for the which (after a fair invitation from my Brother Colonel *Gage*, to come over again to *Flanders*, offering me a thouſand pound ready money) I have been once aſſaulted in *Alderſgate-ſtreet*; and another time like to be killed in *Shooe-lane* by a Captain of my Brothers Regiment, named *Vincent Burton*, who (as I was after informed) came from *Flanders* on purpoſe to make me away, or convey me over; and with ſuch a malicious deſigne followed me to my lodging, lifting up the latch and opening the dore, (as he had ſeen me done) and attempting to go up the ſtairs to my chamber, without any inquiry for me, or knocking at the dore; from whom God graciouſly delivered me by the weak means of a

woman

woman my Land-lady, who ſtopped him from going any further; and being demanded his name, and anſwering by the name of *Steward*, and my Land-lady telling him from me that I knew him not, he went away chafing and ſaying, that I ſhould know him, before he had done with me. But he that knoweth God well, ſhall know no enemy to his hurt; neither have I ever ſince ſeen or known this man. I might here alſo write downe the contents of a threatning Letter from my own Brother, when he was Colonel for the King of *England*, and Governor of *Oxford*, which I forbear with ſome tender conſideration of fleſh and blood. At the beginning of the Wars, I confeſſe I was at a ſtand as Neophyte and new plant of the Church of *England*, concerning the lawfulneſſe of the War; and ſo continued above a yeer in *London*, ſpending my own means, till at laſt I was fully ſatisfied, and much troubled to ſee that the Papiſts and moſt of my kindred were entertained at *Oxford*, and in other places of the Kings Dominions; whereupon I reſolved upon a choice for the Parliament cauſe, which now in their loweſt eſtate & condition, I am not aſhamed to acknowledge. From their hands and by their order I received a Benefice, in the which I have continued almoſt four yeers, preaching conſtantly for a through and godly Reformation intended by them, which I am ready to witneſſe with the beſt drops of blood in my veins, though true it is, I have been envyed, jealouſied, and ſuſpected by many, to whom I deſire this my Hiſtory may be a better witneſſe of my ſincerity, and that by it I may perform what our Saviour Chriſt ſpake to *Peter*, ſaying, *And thou being converted, ſtrengthen thy Brethren.* I ſhall think my time and pen happily employed, if by what here I have written, I may ſtrengthen the peruſers of this ſmall Volume againſt Popiſh ſuperſtition, whether in *England*, other parts of *Europe*, *Aſia*, or *America*, for the which I ſhall offer up my daily prayers unto him who (as I may wel ſay) miraculouſly brought me from *America* to *England*, and hath made uſe of me as a *Joſeph* to diſcover the treaſures of *Ægypt*, or as the Spies to ſearch into the Land of *Canaan*, even the God of all Nations, to whom be aſcribed by me and all true and faithfull Beleevers, Glory, Power, Majeſty and Mercy for ever more. *Amen.*

THE END.

Some brief and ſhort Rules for the better learning of the *Indian* tongue, called *Poconchi* or *Pocoman*, commonly uſed about *Guatemala*, and ſome other parts of *Honduras*.

ALthough it be true that by the daily converſation which in moſt places the *Indians* have with the *Spaniards*, they for the moſt part underſtand the *Spaniſh* tongue in common and ordinary words, ſo that a *Spaniard* may travel amongſt them, and be underſtood in what he calleth for by ſome or other of the Officers, who are appointed to attend upon all ſuch as travel and paſſe through their Towns: Yet becauſe the perfect knowledge of the *Spaniſh* tongue is not ſo common to all *Indians*, both men and women, nor ſo generally ſpoken by them as their own, therefore the Prieſts and Fryers have taken pains to learn the Native tongues of ſeveral places and Countreys, and have ſtudyed to bring them to a form and method of Rules, that ſo the uſe of them may be continued to ſuch as ſhall ſucceed after them. Neither is there any one language generall to all places, but ſo many ſeveral and different one from another, that from *Chiapa* and *Zoques*, to *Guatemala*, and *San Salvador*, and all about *Honduras*, there are at leaſt eighteen ſeveral Languages; and in this diſtrict ſome Fryers who have perfectly learned ſix or ſeven of them. Neither in any place are the *Indians* taught or preached unto but in their Native and Mother-tongue, which becauſe the Prieſt onely can ſpeak, therefore are they ſo much loved and reſpected by the Natives. And although for the time I lived there, I learned and could ſpeak in two ſeveral tongues, the one called *Chacciquel*, the other *Poconchi* or *Pocoman*, which have ſome connexion one with another; yet the *Poconchi* being the eaſieſt, and moſt elegant, and that wherein I did conſtantly preach and teach, I thought fit to ſet down ſome Rules of it, (with the Lords Prayer, and brief declaration of every word in it) to witneſſe and teſtifie to poſterity the truth of my being in thoſe parts, and the manner how thoſe barbarous tongues have, are, and may be learned.

There is not in the *Poconchi* tongue, nor in any other the diverſity of declenſions, which is in the *Latine* tongue; yet there is a double way of declining all Nowns, and conjugating all Verbs, and that is with divers particles, according to the words beginning with a vowel or a conſonant; neither is there any difference of caſes, but onely ſuch as the ſaid Particles or ſome Prepoſitions may diſtinguiſh.

The Particles for the words or Nowns beginning with a Conſonant, are as followeth:

Sing. *Nu*, *A*, *Ru*. Plural. *Ca*, *Ata*, *Qui tacque*. As for example, *Pat* ſignifieth a Houſe, and *Tat* ſignifieth Father, which are thus declined:

Sing. *Nupat* my houſe, *Apat* thy houſe, *Rupat* his houſe. Plural. *Capat* our houſe, *Apatta* your houſe, *Quipat tacque* their houſe.

Sing.

Sing. *Nutat* my Father, *Atat* thy Father, *Rutat* his Father. Plural. *Catat* our Father, *Atatta* your Father, *Quitattacque* their Father. Thus are declined Nownes beginning with a Consonant. As, *Queh*, a horse, *Nuqueh*, *Aqueh*, *Ruqueh*, *&c. Huh*, book or paper, *Nuhuh*, *Ahuh*, *Ruhuh*. *Moloh*, Egge, *Numoloh*, *Amoloh*, *Rumoloh*. *Holom*, Head, *Nuholom*, *Aholom*, *Ruholom*. *Chi*, Mouth, *Nuchi*, *Achi*, *Ruchi*. *Cam*, Hand, *Nucam*, *Acam*, *Rucham*. *Chac*, Flesh, *Nuchac*, *Achac*, *Ruchac*. *Car*, Fish, *Nucar*, *Acar*, *Rucar*. *Cacar*, *Acarta*, *Qui cartacque*. *Chacquil*, body or flesh of man, *Nuchacquil*, *Achacquil*, *Ruchacquil*, *Cachacquil*, *Achacquilta*, *Quichacquiltacque*.

Some words there are which are pronounced like *ts*, which are written not with *ts*, but with this letter *ʇ3*, peculiar in that tongue; as *tsi* dog, *tsiquin* bird; *Nutsi* my Dog, *Atsi* thy Dog, *Rutsi* his Dog; *Catsi* our Dog, *Atsita* your Dog, *Quitsi tacque* their Dog. *Nutsiquin*, my Bird, *Atsiquin* thy Bird, *Rutsiquin* his Bird; *Catsiquin* our Bird, *Atsiquinta* your Bird, *Quitsi quintacque* their Bird.

There are no severall terminations for cases, as in Latine; but the cases are distinguished with some particles or prepositions, as for example. The house of *Peter*, *Rupat Pedro*, putting the possessors name, and the particle *Ru*, which is a possessive. So for the dative, and the particle *Re*; as for example, give to *Peter* his Dog, *Chaye re Pedro Rutsi*. For the accusative, when it is motion to a place, or else not, adde *Chi*; as for example, I go to the house of *Peter*, *Quino chi rupat Pedro*. The Vocative admitteth of this particle, *ah*, or *ha*, of wishing, or calling, as, O my Son, or ho my Son, *Ah vacun*, or *ha vacun*. The Ablative keeping still the same termination with the Nominative, is expressed with some prepositon or other, as in my mouth, *pan nuchi*; with my hand, *chi nucam*. In signifying I, is undeclinable, as also *At*, signifying you, or thou. The possessive Mine is also undeclinable, as *vichin*, mine, or for me; so thine, or for thee, *Ave*. Where note that in this Tongue there is no *w*, but *v*, or *u*, are pronounced as *w*, as though we pronounce *wacun* my Son, *wichin* mine or for me, *awe* thine or for thee; we write *vacun*, *vichin*, *ave*.

The particles or letters which serve for Nowns beginning with a Vowel, are as followeth. Singul. *V. Av. R.* Plural. *C.* or *Qu. Av. ta. C.* or *qu. tacque*, as for example, *Acun* signifieth Son, *Ixim* Corn, *Ochoch* likewise house, which are thus declined.

Sing. *Vacun* my son, *Avacun* thy son, *Racun* his son; Plural. *Cacun* our son, *Avacunta* your son, *Cacuntaque* their son.

Sing. *Vixim* my corn, *Avixim* thy corn, *Rixim* his corn; Plural. *Quixim* our corn, *Aviximta* your corn, *Quixim tacque* their corn.

Sing. *Vochoch* my house, *Avococh* thy house, *Rochoch* his house; Plural. *Cochoch* our house, *Avochochta* your house, *Cochochtaque* their house.

So likewise are varied or declined *Abix*, signifying a plantation, or peece of ground sown. *Acal* earth or ground. *Vleu*, also, earth or ground. *Acach* hen. Save onely that the words beginning with *I*, admit *qu*, in the first and third person plurall; the rest admit for the same persons plurall, *C* onely.

And as thus I have observed for the varying or declining of Nowns, so also do all the Verbs admit of several particles for their conjugating, according as they brgin either with a vowel or a consonant.

Those that begin with a consonant have somewhat like the Nowns these articles following.

Sing. *Nu*, *Na*, *Inru*. Plural. *Inca*, *Nata*, *Inquitacque*. As for example, *locoh* to love.

Sing.

Sing. *Nulocoh* I love, *Nalocoh* thou loveſt, *Inrulocoh* he loveth; Plural, *Incalocoh* we love, *Nalocohta* ye love, *inquilocohtacque* they love.

Nuroca or *Nurapa*, I whip or beat; *Naroca* or *Narapa*, thou whippeſt or beateſt; *Inruroca* or *Inrurapa*, he whippeth or beateth. Plural. *Incaroca* or *Incarapa*, we whip or beat; *Narocata* or *Narapata*, ye whip or beat; *Inquirocatacque* or *Inquirapatacque*, they whip or beat.

Nutsiba I write, *Natſiba* thou writeſt, *Inrutsiba* he writeth. Plural. *Incatsiba*, we write, *Natsibata* ye write, *Inquitsibatacque*, they write.

There is no preterimperfect tenſe, nor preterpluperfect tenſe; but the preterperfect tenſe ſtandeth for them; neither is there any future, but the preſent tenſe expreſſeth it, and is underſtood for it, according to the ſenſe of the diſcourſe, as *Nulocho Pedro*, I love or wil love *Peter*. *Tinulocoh*, I love thee, or I wil love thee. Yet ſometimes for fuller expreſſion of the future tenſe, is added this Verb, *inva* I wil, *Nava* thou wilt, *Inra* he wil; as *Inva nulocoh Pedro*, I wil love *Peter*.

The particles for the Preterperfect tenſe are as follow:

Sing. *Ixnu*, *xa*, *ixru*; Plural. *Ixca*, *xa*, *ta*, *ixqui tacque*. Where note that in all theſe particles, and in all this language, the letter *x* is pronounced like *ſh*, as *ixnu* like *ſhnu*, *xa* like *ſha*, *ixru* like *ſhru*, *ixca* like *ſhca*, and ſo forth.

Preterperf. Sing. *Ixnulocoh* I have loved, *xalocoh* thou haſt loved, *ixrulocoh* he hath loved; Plural. *Ixcalocoh* we have loved, *xalocohta* ye have loved, *ixquilocohtacque* they have loved. And ſo of all the Verbs above.

The particles for the Imperative mood are theſe following:

For the ſingular number, and ſecond perſon *Cha*, for the third perſon ſingular *Chiru*; for the firſt perſon plural *Chica*, for the ſecond *Chata*, for the third *Ch qui tacque*; as for example: *Chalocoh* love thou, *Chirulocoh* let him love; Plural. *Chicalocoh* let us love, *Chalocohta* love ye, *Chiquilocohtacque*, let them love. And ſo of the reſt of the Verbs above.

The Optative Mood is the ſame with the Indicative, adding to it this particle *Ta*, which ſignifieth as much as *Vtinam*, or Would to God, as *Nalocoh ta Dios*, would God thou love God; *Ixnulocoh ta Dios*, would God I had loved God.

The Conjunctive Mood alſo is the ſame with the Indicative, adding to it this particle and prepoſition *vei* and *ta*, If. As for example, *vei nalocoh ta Dios*, if thou love God, *vei ixnulocoh ta Dios*, if I had loved God.

There is no Infinitive Mood, but the Indicative ſerveth for it. As *Quinchol nutsiba* I can write. *Quinquimi* ſignifieth to die, *Nuraeh* I deſire, *Nuraeh quinquimi*, I deſire to die.

Note further, that in all Verbs Actives, when Mee and Thee are expreſſed as the Accuſative caſe following the Verb, they are coupled to the perſon that doth or goeth before the verb, by theſe two particles for the preſent tenſe, *Quin* mee, *Ti* thee. And for the preterperfect tenſe, *xin* mee, *ixti* thee; as for example.

Quinalocoh thou loveſt me, *xinalocoh* thou haſt loved me, *quinraalocoh* thou wilt love me, *quinalocohta* love me, or I pray God thou love me, *vei quinalocoh*, if thou love me, *vei xinalocoh* if thou haſt or hadſt loved me, *quinaraeh nalocoh*, thou deſireſt to love me. So for the ſecond perſon being the Accuſative, *Tinulocoh* I love thee, *ixtinulocoh* I have loved thee, *tiranulocoh* I will love thee, *tinulocohta* pray God I love thee, *vei tinulocoh* if I love thee, *vei ixtinulocoh*, if I have or had loved thee, *tinuraeh nulocoh* I deſire to love thee.

Note further, that theſe two Verbs, *Quinchol*, which ſignifieth, I can, or am able, and *Inva* which ſignifieth, I will, when they are put with other Verbs of

what

whatsoever person, they are elegantly but impersonally in the third person Singular. As for example:

Inchol nulocoh I can love, *inra nulocoh* I will love, *ixra ixnulocoh* I have been willing to love, *ixchol ixnulocoh* I have been able to love, *tichol nulocoh* I can love thee, *tira nulocoh* I will love thee.

The Letters or Particles for Verbs beginning with a Vowel, are these that follow.

Sing. *Inv. Nav. Inr.* Plural. *Inqu.* or *Inc. Nau ta. Inqu tacque*, or *Inc tacque.* As for example, *Eça* signifieth to deliver, which is thus formed:

Sing. *Inveça* I deliver, *Naveça* thou delivereſt, *Inreça* he delivereth. Plural. *Inqueça* we deliver, *Naveçata* ye deliver, *Inqueça tacque* they deliver.

A is a simple, signifying to wish or desire, or will a thing, which is never found without these particles.

Sing. *Inva* I will, *Nava* thou wilt, *Inra* he will. Plural. *Inca* we will, *Navata* ye will, *Inca tacque* they will. *Ivereh* to hear. *Invivireh* I hear, *navivireh* thou heareſt, *inrivireh* he heareth. Plural. *Inquivireh* we hear, *navivirehta* ye hear, *inquivirech tacque* they hear.

Thus have I briefly ſet down the way of declining all ſorts of Nowns, and conjugating all ſorts of Verbs of this tongue. It remaineth now that I ſpeak of Verbs Paſſives, their forming and their conjugating with like particles. The Verbs Paſſives being of divers terminations, are diverſly formed. Commonly thoſe that end with an *A*, cut off the *A* in the Paſſive, and to the laſt conſonant add *hi*. As for example: *Nuroca* I whip or beat, the paſſive is *Quinrochi*. So *Nurapa* I whip or beat, in the paſſive is *Quinraphi*. Except *Nutsiba* I write, which changeth *b* into *m*. *Quintsimhi* I am written. Thoſe that end in *oh*, change *oh* into *onhi*; as *Nulocoh* I love, *Quinloconhi* I am loved. So thoſe that end in *ch*, do change *ch* into *hi*, as *Invivireh* I hear, *Quinivirhi* I am heard; *Nucata* I teach, *Quincuthi* I am taught, by the firſt rule. But thoſe that end in *ça* (where note this letter ç or *c*, with a tittle under it, is pronounced like *ſ*,) change the *a* into *hi*. As for example, *Inveça* I deliver, *Quinoçihi* I am delivered. *Nucamça* I kill, *Quicamcihi* I am killed: Thoſe that end in *ach*, add *hi* in the Paſſive, as *Nuçach* I forgive, in the paſſive maketh *Quinçacchi* I am forgiven. The particles that vary or conjugate the Verbs Paſſives, are these following:

Sing. *Quin, ti, in.* Plural. *Coh*, or *Co, tita, quitacque.* As for example:

Quiloconchi I am loved, *tiloconhi* thou art loved, *inloconhi* he is loved. Plural. *Coloconhi* we are loved, *tiloconhita* ye are loved, *quiloconhi tacque* they are loved.

Quinrochi I am beaten or whipped, *tirochi* thou art beaten or whipped, *inrochi* he is beaten or whipped. Plural. *Corochi* we are beaten or whipped, *tirochita* ye are beaten or whipped, *quirochi tacque* they are beaten or whipped.

The particles for the preterperfect tenſe are these following:

Sing. *Xin, ixti, ix.* Plural. *Xoh* or *xo, ixti ta, xi tacque.* As for example:

Sing. *Xinloconhi* I have been loved, *ixtiloaonhi* thou haſt been loved, *ixloconhi* he hath been loved. Plural. *Xoloconhi* we have been loved, *ixtiloconhita* ye have been loved, *xiloconhi tacque* they have been loved. *Xinrochi* I have been whipped or beaten, *ixtirochi* thou haſt been whipped or beaten, *ixrochi* he hath been whipped or beaten. Plural. *Xorochi* or *xohrochi* we have been whipped or beaten, *ixtirochita* ye have been whipped or beaten, *xirochi tacque* they have been whipped or beaten.

The

The Inperative Mood is thus:

Tiloconhi, Be thou loved, *Chiloconho*, let him be loved. Plural. *Chicaloconho*. let us be loved, *Tiloconhota*, be ye loved, *Chiquiloconho tacque*, let them be loved. Where you see the particle *hi* is changed into *ho*.

The Optative Mood, and the Conjunctive are after the manner of the Verbs Actives, by putting to *ta* in the Optative, and *vei* in the Conjunctive. As for example.

Quinloconhi ta, I pray God I be loved. *Tiloconhi ta*, I pray God thou be loved; *Inloconhita*, I pray God he be loved; *Cohloconhita*, I pray God we be loved; *Tiloconhitata*, I pray God ye be loved; *Quiloconhitatacque*, I pray God they be loved.

So in the Preterperfect tense *ta* only is added: as for example.

Xinloconhi ta, would to God I have or had been loved, *Ixtiloconhita*, pray God thou hast or hadst been loved, *Ixloconhita*, Pray God he have or had been loved. Plur. *Xoloconhita*, pray God we have or had been loved, *Ixtiloconhi ta ta*, I pray God ye have or had been loved, *Xiloconhi ta tacque*, I pray God they have or had been loved. Where note that the particle *ta*, if any other word or sentence be put with the Verb, may be put before the Verb, as *Nim ta Quinloconhi*, I pray God I be greatly loved. Otherwise if the Verb be alone, *ta* is placed after it.

The Conjunctive Mood is thus, *Vei Quinloconhi*, if I be loved, *Vei tiloconhi*, if thou be loved, and so forth.

This is all, which commonly is taught concerning this tongue. In which grounds he that is perfect in, and hath a Dictionary of the severall words of it, may soon learn to speak it. As I shall understand by my best friends, that there is a desire of further printing a Dictionary, I shall satisfie their desires, and apply my self unto it. These few rules for the present I have thought fit to print, for curiosity sake, and that it may appear, how easie the *Indian* tongues are to be learned. I shall conclude this unparalleld work, with the Lords Prayer in that tongue, and with a brief explication of it.

Catat taxah vilcat; Nimta incaharçihi avi; Inchalita Avihauripan Cana. Invanivita Nava yahvir vacacal, he invantaxah. Chaye runa cahuhunta quih viic; Naçachtamac, he incaçachve quimac ximacquivi chiqnih; Macoacana chipam catacchyhi; Coaveçata china unche stiri, mani quiro, he inqui, Amen.

Note, *Catat*, according to the rule of declining Nouns, is the first person plural, which is known by the particle *Ca*, added to *Tat*, which signifieth father; and *Catat* is our father.

Taxah signifieth heaven; it is put before the word or verb *vilcat*, for more elegancy sake, and for better placing of it, contrary to the Latin and English, where *es*, or *art*, is put before *in cœlis*, or in heaven. Likewise it is put without a preposition, contrary to the Greek, Latin and English: for in this tongue many times the prepositions are omitted and understood.

Vilcat signifieth *es* or *art*: it is the second person of the Verb, *Sum, es, fui*, which is a Verb Anomal, and not conjugated after the rule of Verbs above. As for example, *Vilquin*, I am, *Vilcat*, thou art, *Villi*, he is. Plural. *Vilcoh*, we are, *Viloatta*, ye are, *Vilque tacque*, they are. The Preterperfect tense, *Xinvi*, I have been, *Ixtivi*, thou hast been, *Ixvi*, he hath been. Plural. *Xohvi*, we have been, *Ixtivita*, ye have been, *Xivi tacque*, they have been. Imperative, *Tivi* or *Tivo*, be thou; *Chivi* or *Chivo*, let him be. Plural. *Cohvi ta* or *Cohvo ta*, let us be; *Tivita* or *Tivota*, be ye; *Quivi ta* or *Quivo ta tacque*, let them be. The Optative and Conjunctive are according to the Rule above, by adding *ta* or *vei*, to the present tense, and preterperfect tense of the Indicative Mood.

Nim ta Incaharcihi, which signifieth, I pray God may be greatly magnified. *Nim* signifieth great or greatly. *Ta* is *optantis*, or of wishing. *Incaharcihi*, is the third person of the Verb *Quincaharcihi*, which signifieth to be magnified or extolled; and is formed according to the rule above, from the active verb, *Nucaharça*, to magnifie or extoll, by changing the last *a* into *ihi*, and adding *quin* the particle of the passive.

Avi thy name. *Vi*, signifyeth name, and according to the rule above for Nounes beginning with a Consonant *a* is the particle of the second person.

Inchalita avihauri, let come thy Kingdome, is the proper expression of this in *English*. *Inchali*, is the third person of the Verb *Quinchali*, which signifieth to come. *Ta* is as before *optantis*, or of wishing. *Ihauri* or *Ihauric*, signifieth kingdome. *Av*, added, sheweth the second person.

Pan cana, upon our heads. This is a peculiar expression in that tongue; which (as all other tongues) hath many phrases, strange expressions, proper elegancies and circumlocutions. Whereof this one, to say, Let thy Kingdome come upon our heads. *Pam* or *Pan*, is a preposition, signifying in, or within, or upon. *Na* signifieth head; *Nuna*, my head, *Cana* our head, according to the rule above: from whence they call a hat, *Pan Nuna*, as being upon the head.

Invaniva ta Nava, let be done what thou wilt. They have no proper Noun to expresse a mans will, but expresse it by a Verb: *Invanivi*, is the third person of the Verbe, *Quinvanivi*, which signifieth to be made or done. The Active is *Nuvan*, I do or make: from whence are formed many passives, as *Quinvan*, or *Quinvanhi*, or *Quinvani*, or *Quinvanivi*, or *Quinbanari*, or *Quinvantihi*, whereof this last signifieth to be done speedily. And so to all Verbs Actives and Passives, this particle *tihi*, is added at the end, to signifie haste or speed in doing any thing. *Nava*, is the second person of the Verb, *Inva*, I wil, according to the rule for verbs beginning with a Vowell, *Nava*, thou wilt, *Inra*, he will.

Tahvir vach a cal, here upon the face of the earth; *Tahvir*, is an Adverbe signifying here, *Vach*, signifieth face, *Nuvach*, my face, *Avach*, thy face, *Ruvach*, his face. *Acal*, signifyeth the earth or ground.

He inivan taxan; as it is done in heaven. *He* is an Adverb, signifying even as, *Invan*, is the third person of the passive Verb, *Quinvan*, to be done. *Taxah*, as before, singnifieth in heaven without any prepositon to it.

Chaye runa, give to day. *Nuye* is the first person of the present tense, signifying, I give, *Cha*, is the particle (according to the rule above) of the second person of the Imperative Mood. *Chaye* give thou; *Chyrue*, let him give. *Runa*, to day.

Cahuhun ta quih viic, our every day bread: where note that *ca*, put before *huhun* is very elegantly placed, though it do belong to the word *viic*, which signifieth bread. *Nuviic*, my bread, *Caviic*, our bread. *Huhun* is an undeclined word, signifying every one, or every thing. *Quih* signifieth the sun or the day.

Naçach ta camac, I pray God thou forgive our sins. They use not here the Imperative Mood, as in Latin *dimitte*, and in *English* forgive, but with the particle *ta*, of wishing, they use the Optative Mood. *Naçach* is the second person of the Verb, *Nuçach*, I forgive. *Mac*, signifieth sin. *Numac*, my sin or sins, *camac*, our sins. *Laval* is another word in that tongue also to signifie sin.

He incaçachve quimac, Even as we forgive their sins. *Incaçach* is the first person plural, according to the rule above, for verbes beginning with a consonant; *ve*

is

is put at the end for elegancy sake. *Quimac* is the third person plural. Where note that in a whole speech or sentence, sometimes the particle *tacque*, observed above in the rule for declining is left out; and sometimes it is added. As here, *quimac* their sins; or else it might have been *quimac tacque*.

Xim acquivi chi quih, that have sinned against our backs, of *Mac*, signifying sin, is this Verbe formed, *quinmacquivi*, to sin. So likewise of *laval*, sin, is formed another Verbe, *quinlavini*, to sin. This Verb *quinmacquivi* is a Deponent; of which sort there are many in that tongue, as *quincutani*, to preach, which have the same Particles as the Verbs Passives. *Chiquih* is a word compounded of the Prepositions *chi* and *ih*, which signifieth back, and is varied like the Nounes beginning with a Vowell, and joyned with *chi*, signifieth against, as *Chivih*, against me, *chavih*, against thee, *chirih*, against him. Plural. *Chiquih*; against us, *chavihta*, against ye, *chiquih tacque*, against them. And if another third person be named, *chirih*, standeth for against, as *chirih Pedro*, against *Peter*, that is against the back. If any be named in the third person Plural, then *chiqui* is used, as *chiquih unche*, or *chiquih cunch elal*, against all.

Mecoacana, leave us not. This Verb is here compounded of three: first, *Ma*, is abbreviated from the word *mani*, which signifieth no or not, as likewise *manchucu*. *Co* or *coh*, signifieth we or us, and as in the rules before I have observed, is put here before the Verb; which causeth the *n* to be cut off from the Verb, which otherwise should have been *nacana*, of *nucana*, I leave, *nacana*, thou leavest, *inrucana*, he leaveth, and so forth.

Chipam catacchihi, in our being tempted. This is another great elegancy in that tongue to use a Verb Passive for a Noune, and to add to it a Preposition; as here, *chipam*, which signifieth in; and putting to the Verb the Particles wherewith the Nounes are varied and declined. *Nutacchih*, signifieth I tempt. The Passive is *quintacchihi*, I am tempted; from whence *nutacchihi*, signifieth my being tempted, or my temptation; *attacchihi*, thy temptation, *rutacchihi*, his temptation, *catacchihi*, our temptation.

Coaveçaca china unche tsiri. Deliver us from all evill things. *Inveça*, as I have noted before, signifieth to deliver. *Co* is the first person Plural put before the Verb, as I observed in the rule above, and in that Conjunction or compound *macoacana*. *China* is a Preposition, signifying above or from. *Unche*, signifieth all, which is undeclinable. *tsiri*, is an Adjective properly undeclinable also or unvariable, in Gender, Case, and Number; as are all Adjectives in that tongue. It signifieth evill or bad; as *tsiri vinac*, an evill man, *tsiri ixoc*, a bad woman, *tsiri chicop*, a bad or evill beast; so likewise in the Plural number it is the same. Without a Substantive it is as the Newter Gender, as *malum* for *mala res*, signifying an evill thing, or evill things. The Substantive that is formed from it, is *tsiriquil*, which signifieth evill or wickedness. *Voronquil*, signifieth the same.

Mani quiro, not good: this is put for a further expression of evils to be delivered from whatsoever is not good. *Mani*, as I noted before, signifieth not. *Quiro*, is as *tsiri*, an Adjective, signifying good or a good thing, and is undeclinable, unvariable in both numbers. *Quiro vinac*, a good man, *quiro ixoc*, a good woman, *quiro chicop*, a good beast; so likewise in the plural number, *quiro vinac*, good men. The Substantive that is derived from this Adjective, is, *quirohal*, goodness. *Chiohal*, signifieth the same. *Quirolah*, is very good, *tsirilah* very bad; where *lah* is added at the end of an Adjective, it puts the same aggravation as *valde* in *Latin*.

He inqui, even as he saith. The meaning is, even as he saith that taught this

prayer. *Quinqui*, ſignifieth I ſay, *tiqui*, thou ſayeſt, *inqui*, he ſaith, *Cohqui*, we ſay, *tiquita*, ye ſay, *quiquitacque*, they ſay.

Amen. All words which have no true expreſſion in the *Indians* tongues, are continued in the *Spaniſh*, or in the proper tongue, as here *Amen*. So wine which formerly they had not, they call *vino*; though by an improper word ſome call it *Caſtilana ha*, that is, the water of Caſtile. So God, they call *Dios* commonly; though ſome call him *Nim Ahval*, that is the great Lord.

And thus for curioſities ſake, and by the intreaty of ſome ſpeciall friends, I have furniſhed the Preſſe with a language which never yet was printed, or known in *England*. A Merchant, Mariner, or Captain at Sea may chance by fortune to be driven upon ſome Coaſt, where he may meet with ſome *Pocoman Indian*; and it may be of great uſe to him, to have ſome light of this *Poconchi* tongue. Whereunto I ſhall be willing hereafter to add ſomething more for the good of my Countrey; and for the preſent I leave thee Reader to ſtudy what hitherto hath briefly been delivered by me.

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